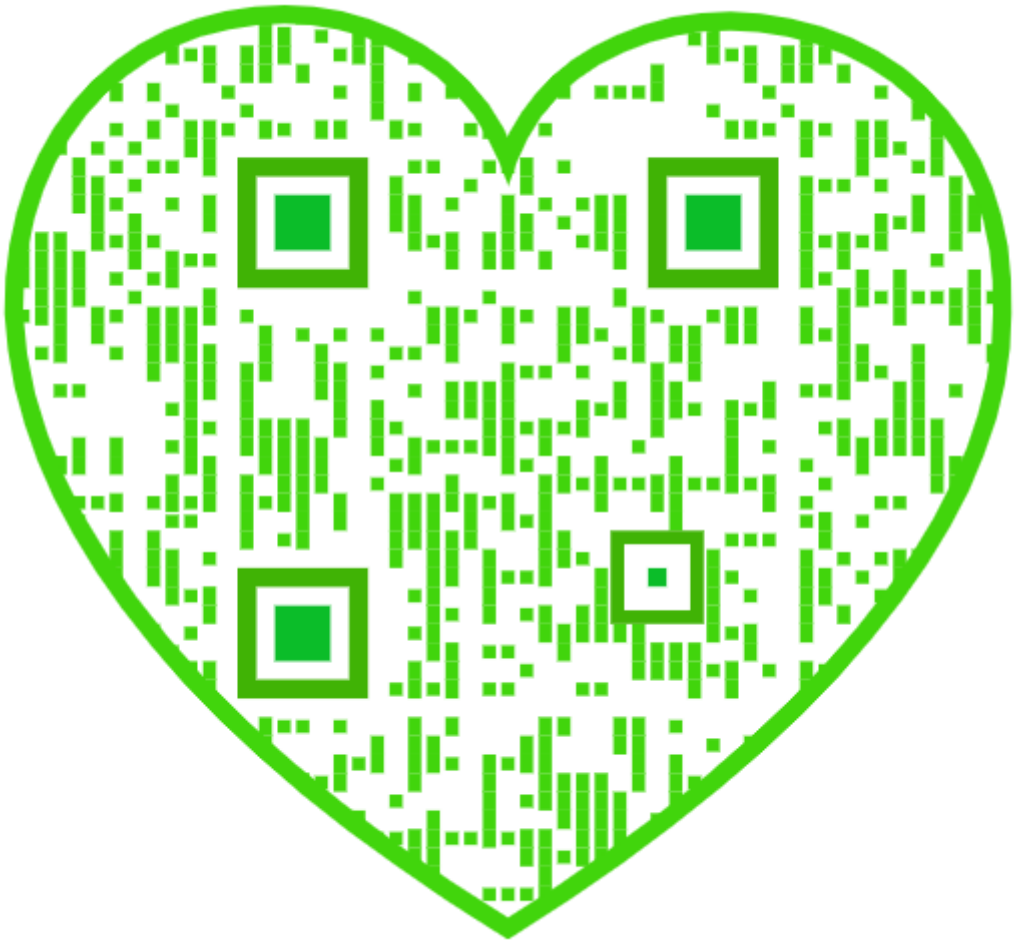

HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION,

WITH

A PRELIMINARY VIEW

OF THE

Character and Principles of the Colonists,

AND THEIR

CONTROVERSIES WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

FIFTH EDITION.

Samuel Farmer Wilson.

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PREFACE.

THE first intention of the writer of this book was to prepare an abstract of some one of the larger histories of the American Revolution, in a more compact form than any which he had met with in his own reading. The object was to present a convenient volume, which should embrace all the principal occurrences, civil, military, and political, in America and Europe, having a direct influence on the principles and progress of the revolutionary contest, at the same time that it should avoid all minor details not positively necessary to the continuity or integrity of the narrative. The military events were to be made less prominent than is usual; and all circumstantial accounts of battles and manœuvres in the field, beyond leading incidents important for the understanding of the issue, were to be avoided. After examining several of the principal authorities, the design of following any particular author was abandoned, and the present plan adopted, of re-writing and re-arranging the whole, without regard to the order or language of previous histories. These are the claims of the work to originality. Its merits are submitted to the judgment of the public. The writer has diligently compared the received authorities, and exercised his judgment freely in selecting and arranging the essential facts; and he thinks he has brought within the compass of a volume convenient for popular use, a connected narrative of the revolution, embracing all the principal events—foreign and domestic. Those portions which relate to the foreign negotiations, are more full in proportion, than the other divisions of the subject. They will be found, it is believed, correct and valuable.

The author believes that this volume might be advantageously used in the instruction of youth. For the purpose of determining this point, he invites the examination of teachers, within whose system the subject is embraced, on the scale to which the size of the work is adapted.

The chief authorities consulted by the writer, are: *Holmes'* Annals; the histories by *Botta*, *Paul Allen*, *Ramsay*, and *Pitkin; Marshall's* Life of Washington; Lives of the Signers; Lives of Arthur Lee, and Richard Henry Lee, by *Richard Henry Lee;* Life of John Jay, by his son, *William Jay; Wirt's* Patrick Henry; *Spark's* Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution; *Bancroft's* life of Washington; *Walsh's* Appeal; *Hale's* Premium History; *Austin's* Life of Gerry; Life of Quincy; *Lee's* Southern Campaigns; English Histories by *Bisset*, *Belsham*, and *Miller;* and other histories of particular States.

S. F. WILSON

Baltimore, May, 1834.

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HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE war of the American Revolution, which established the Independence of the United States, was, beyond question, the most momentous era in the political history of the world. Other periods have, indeed, produced instances of the highest public virtue,—of elevated, fervent and incorruptible patriotism,—of fidelity, fortitude and heroism, which cannot be surpassed, and have been rarely approached. Oppressions more galling than any of which the British Colonies of '76 could complain, have been bravely and successfully resisted; and gallant achievements for liberty and country, have been won, from time to time, by those magnanimous spirits who rise occasionally in the darkest periods, to vindicate, by their actions and virtues, the essential dignity of human nature. But theirs were solitary and partial efforts in advance of the intelligence of the age. The institutions, which sprung from their success, designed to secure the rights wrested by force from the hands of tyrants, lacked the self-sustaining vigor of an enlightened public opinion. Resistance to oppression, glorious in its triumph, unfortunately produced no fruits beyond temporary relief. The securities for good government arising from constitutional limitations upon power, and the supremacy of law, were beyond their capacity; and their victories were accordingly transient anarchies, in the intervals of a perpetually renewed despotism. Hence the noblest conquests over tyranny failed to affect permanently the general course of events, or to impress upon the mass of opinions a popular direction. That fleeting liberty which was gained in one country, touched not the sympathies nor kindled the emulation of another. The very next generation, corrupted by power and indulgence, or wearied

by turbulence and anarchy, and unconscious of those defects in themselves, by which stability and peace were frustrated, forfeited those dearly won privileges, and relapsed into that state of passive debasement, from which, under the guidance of one or two master minds, they had for a while emerged.

The American Revolution was, however, of a different character. It was the natural offspring of a state of society, rapidly advancing, under circumstances, moral and physical, peculiarly favourable to general improvement. The sagacity, virtue, and heroism, by which it was distinguished, were not alone the traits of illustrious men, but the characteristics of a nation, educated and disciplined in the knowledge of their rights. The conflict was waged on principles clearly defined, and for specific objects. Success therefore only consolidated liberties which were understood before they were fought for, into a system adapted to the matured intelligence of the people, and sustained as well by their approving judgments, as by their affections. With them to retrograde into slavery was impossible, because their intellectual cultivation and moral qualities, harmonized with the institutions they established; and these being in their nature progressive, all must advance together. The effect upon other nations, has not been less dissimilar. Astonishment and admiration and sympathy soon ripened into zeal to imitate, as the success of American example in self-government tested the doctrines of the American Revolution, and proved their soundness. A new impulse communicated itself to the nations nearest in political condition, and most closely connected by facilities of intercourse, and habits of thought. Vast changes in the principles and framework of governments have already been silently or violently effected; still more extensive and important are plainly at hand. In all the theories of human rights,—in the policy of administrations and cabinets; in the innermost form and texture of that intricate combination of interests and relations by which men are connected together in society,—substantial reforms are in progress every where throughout the civilized globe; and all are parts of a stupendous series of organic changes, of which the American Revolution marks the first era.

Momentous as was that era in its consequences, it was scarcely less remarkable in the combination and succession of events, by which it was preceded. The discovery of America at the close of the 15th century concurred most

propitiously with the condition of Europe at the time, to strengthen the infant spirit of liberty that had been struggling in vain against hostile institutions, and to prepare a new unlimited field for its nurture and growth. Just when the wants of civilized man most seemed to need it,—when the pressure of antiquated misrule was most heavily felt, and no practicable scheme of relief on the spot of its predominance seemed possible,—an unoccupied hemisphere was thrown open to him. There, ardent spirits, who found the sphere of action at home limited to too narrow a circle by the tyrannical customs and prescriptions of centuries, and the oppressed and destitute, made so by artificial restraints upon industry, and the extortions and abuses of legalized despotism, joyfully sought a new country. The impatient energies, that at home had exhausted themselves vainly in combating against barriers that were yet too strong to be broken through, here overflowed without restraint, and spread themselves over a vast continent, taming the savage, reclaiming the forests, battling fearlessly against all the terrors of solitude and the wilderness, ferocious wild beasts, and fiercer men, to build up institutions fresh from the hands of nature, and suited to their new position, and improved understanding of their rights. Thus was a peculiar people trained up to habits of independence, and experience of the benefits and usages of liberty, under circumstances more favorable than had ever been enjoyed by any people before; developing by the severest discipline the physical powers of the human frame, and giving the fullest scope to the natural motions of the intellect. This rare combination of moral and social phenomena, tended harmoniously to the same end—the establishment of a common principle of repugnance to arbitrary power, and the assertion for the first time, of the doctrines of popular sovereignty, by the final erection of the American republics.

A slight glance at the comparative rate of progress in social improvements, in both hemispheres, before and since the impetus given at the era of the discovering of America, will signally illustrate its importance in political history. The seeds of liberty,—which took such instant root, and flourished with such luxuriance here, and have grown with such rapidity elsewhere,—existed long before in Europe. But they had been sown in barren and stony ground, and though nurtured by the toils, and oftentimes

watered by the blood of early martyrs, they sustained themselves feebly against a superincumbent mass of ancient abuses. While the revival of learning, after the darkness of the middle ages, gave a new impulse to the human mind, and the discoveries and inventions by which it was subsequently signalized, perpetuated its new achievements, and have carried it progressively onwards, the natural influence of increased knowledge, upon public liberty, was tardy in manifesting itself in the improvement of governments, or in the elevation of the condition of the people. To partial observation, looking at immediate effects, that influence would seem to have been hostile to freedom. The student of history finds despotism temporarily strengthened as knowledge increased. The resources of learning, applied by the most active intellects, evidently sharpened, for a season, the weapons of arbitrary power, and ministered sedulously to the ruling temper of the times, devising artful defences for its excesses, and new instruments for securing its unresisted ascendency. The alliance between tyranny, which is the natural form of all unlimited power, and knowledge, which is its natural enemy, is, in the early stages of the latter, as seen in the history of foreign governments, apparently complete. In later times, it has been also found that men of the highest range of intellect, have employed their superiority to uphold the most odious systems of government, and to extinguish those desires for political rights, which have sprung chiefly from the enlarged knowledge, to which themselves have so much contributed. Striving earnestly against popular movements, they, at the same time, spent their lives in pursuits which have prepared the world for the very changes they deplored. The explanation of this apparent anomaly, instead of disproving the inherent sympathy between knowledge and freedom, gives an eminent proof of their affinity, under all circumstances, and in despite of all personal passions, individual influences, and temporary delusions. The selfish principle peculiar to the age, and the selfish principle of our common nature, were both to be encountered and overthrown, before the beneficent influences of civilization could be made to reach the mass of the community, and elevate them. The thirst for power and booty was the ruling passion of the privileged classes, and learning and mental acquirements were only valued as ministers to that appetite. They were additional weapons for foiling enemies,

conquering and enslaving the weak, and strengthening the strong,—and were so estimated only in comparison with other instruments. They were rather contemned in the comparison with bodily strength, because their influences were less obvious. Even when they became more highly considered, they were employed, with few exceptions, in advancing selfish objects, and for personal aggrandizement. Thus for a long series of years, and through various fortunes, knowledge as the great agent of human improvement, struggled not only against the errors and institutions of antiquity, but against the dominant temper of the times, and the selfish principles of its possessor and followers.

The condition of society during the progress of this struggle, while it bears testimony to the arduous conflict which the growing spirit of liberty was waging with its antagonists, furnishes other arguments for the opponents of popular license, much more honourable to human nature, than the baser passions of pride and ambition, with which they were mingled.

It is not to be denied, that in those days, the multitude were incapable of government, or of any proper use of their faculties, in judging of affairs of state. Ignorant and brutal,—taught from infancy to know nothing but the law of force, and the will of a master scarcely less brutal and ignorant,—they were, without question, a stolid and insensate mass, whom power alone could restrain, and to whom freedom was a word as unintelligible as it now is to the body-guard of an African chief. So the first dawning of civilization found them, and so the first master spirits saw them, the more clearly as themselves were more highly elevated. Knowledge of civil rights, which is the growth of a general increase of intelligence, spread but slowly, even when the most rapid advance was made by individuals in science and the arts: what wonder is it, then, that direct fear of the savage excesses of an ignorant multitude should have prevailed over vague and unformed notions of a human perfectibility, of which there was no present token nor promise? Having no means of safety for all the growing interests of society, save in the strength of those classes which held the power to protect, and which, by their position and their limited numbers, were within the reach of improvement, it ought not to surprise us, that men of the best intentions and widest range of intellect and acquirement should have been the advocates of monarchy, the defenders of established institu-

tions, and the partizans of dynasties, claiming to exist by "divine" appointment. Ambition and vanity, custom and fear, the weight of antiquity, the authority of history, and the abused or mistaken sanctions of religion, were all on the side of governments, wherever and however they existed. Yet in all this apparent union of every influence, in favour of despotic governments, the seeds of revolution were planted. The tightening and bracing of the social springs showed an increasing pressure to be counteracted—a growing impulse upward, against which conservative force had become necessary. While the jealousy of power, barred with increasing rigour the advance of popular inquiry in religion and politics, mental activity enlarged its field widely in every other direction, The general level of capacity gradually rose, until the forbidden precincts were invaded by a universal tide of public opinion, in spite of the barriers which had been raised upon each other, by the care of centuries. What the immediate effects were, is not within our limits to describe minutely. From the period of the reign of Henry the VIII., in England, the efforts of the rising spirit of the people, more and more enlightened by education, and directed by experience, have gradually—sometimes by violence, and sometimes by natural operations imperceptibly,—raised the moral character of nations, and finally enlisted knowledge on the side to which it naturally belongs—that of Liberty. In the most propitious period for mankind, of this unequal strife which is not yet decided in the old world, the colonization of America produced an entire change in the moral characteristics of the contest. Here were no obstacles to the freest exercise of intellectual independence : the issue has invigorated the hopes, and given unerring promises of the final triumph, of those who have not only to build up new institutions, but to combat inveterate prejudices, to remove the consequences of errors that have been interwoven with the most intimate texture of society, and to prepare whole nations, not only to conquer and establish, but to understand and enjoy their rights.

The co-operation of knowledge and civilization, with fortune, or Providence, in this work of human regeneration, may not unaptly be compared to that of physical phenomena, which, by the agency of independent laws, without apparent concert, produce the finest and noblest results. Intellectual and moral improvement, the soil

from which public virtue and liberty spring as the natural growth, is formed, gradually, from a thousand indirect and direct sources, as the earth is formed for the benevolent purposes of vegetation, upon a barren rock. By slow attrition and progressive deposites of the elements, layer after layer accumulates. If human industry be wanting to stimulate its energies, by and by comes along a bird of the air dropping the grain, or the wind, blowing where it listeth, scatters a seed, or the waves throw up a random twig, and the new-made soil soon sends up from its bosom a little plant, that ere long swells into a mighty tree, fixing its roots deep into the earth, and stretching its brawny arms wide into the air, bearing fruit to refresh and sustain living beings, and preserving the inherent faculty of re-producing its kind for ever. The plant of liberty thus springs in a soil which virtue and knowledge have matured and prepared for the hand of some master spirit, labouring with almost divine philanthropy for the good of the species; or for some happy conjuncture of events to call forth its dormant powers into spontaneous action. Thenceforward, though the growth may be affected by untoward events, and delayed, more or less, as society advances more or less slowly, it is not in the nature of truth, that it should ever perish again. All experience hitherto, in the only fair trial ever made, confirms this judgment. Americans, proud of their own share, as a people, in these glorious events, as well as zealous for the improvement of the condition of other nations, by the same happy influences, ought frequently to turn with gratitude to the period of their own revolution, and not cease to impress its principles, and the magnitude of their bearings, upon the hearts of each succeeding generation. The train of events which immediately brought on the struggle between the then colonies and Great Britain, and the vicissitudes of fortune by which it was marked until the final triumph by the establishment of independence, have, moreover, the merit of exhibiting rare examples of personal virtue and heroism in our ancestors, well worthy of the highest admiration of their descendants—fit to foster a just national pride; to strengthen the impulses of patriotism, and stimulate a warmer zeal in the universal cause of virtue and liberty.

In reviewing the earlier portions of colonial history—to trace the remoter as well as the immediate springs of the revolution, secondary to the general advancement of popular

knowledge and virtue, which are the first causes—the chief place in importance is undoubtedly due to the peculiar opinions and dispositions of the Colonists and the circumstances in which they were formed. The arbitrary measures of the British government were not primary causes of the colonial resistance. Upon people of a different education and temperament, much greater oppressions than those employed by the British ministry, from the commencement of the first systematic design to enslave in 1764, to the commencement of hostilities, might have been safely tried; and with any other existing people, would have probably succeeded. With them, however, as was well said by one of its wisest men, "The revolution was over before the war commenced." It was a moral revolution, to which a successful war only gave permanent establishment, and the sanction of victory in the eyes of other nations. It existed in the minds of the Colonists long before the occasion had arisen to call forth its active energies, or to invite them to study attentively the tendency of their own opinions. Its development was hastened by the assertion of unwise and tyrannical doctrines from abroad, and the attempt to reduce to practice here, rules of government which would have succeeded any where else, with discontent, but without much contention, and with no resistance. The peculiar character of this people is therefore an essential point of preliminary inquiry.

CHAPTER II.

THE first settlers in America were a race of men, not merely enlightened in regard to the principles of government, to the full extent of the intelligence of the age, but were far in advance of the prevailing theories in Europe. They were, in fact, for the most part, driven from Europe for their hostility to those theories, as established. Political and religious controversies had been for a long time agitating that whole continent, and cruel persecutions employed to repress and punish all independence of judgment, and to maintain despotic control over the body and mind, by the use of force. The mass of the public being unripe for concentrated action in behalf of general principles, they who were foremost in agitation, and who consequently suffered the penalties of defeat, were the active and enterprising—those who best comprehended the rights of man, and were warmed with the truest zeal for liberty. Such men it was, principally, who, disgusted with tyranny, or forced by rigorous laws and proscriptions, gladly embraced the opportunity of establishing themselves, at whatever cost and labour, where they might provide better institutions for their posterity. The English historian, Hume, himself the apologist of some of the worst tyrants that ever sat upon the throne, passed a merited eulogium upon the principles of the first American settlers, as early as the time of the first James. "That spirit of independence," he remarks, "which was then reviving in England, shone forth in America, in its full lustre, and received new accession of force from the aspiring character of those, who, being discontented with the established church and monarchy, had sought for freedom among the savage deserts." A striking fact, narrated in the memoirs of Cromwell and Hampden, two among the most remarkable men in English history, illustrates the general effect of the misgovernment of that period, in driving the ablest men into exile; and may also serve as a memorable illustration of that just retribution for evil deeds, of which many examples are on record, wherein violent and arbitrary acts have, by the combination of subsequent events totally unforeseen at the time, led directly to the ruin of their authors. Hampden and Cromwell, under

the common influence of dislike to the measures of Charles I. were actually on board ship, on their way to settle in America, when they were stopped by a royal order in council, prohibiting emigration. They, in consequence, remained in England—the one, by his noble support of the popular cause, to overturn the king's influence in parliament, and become a proverb in all ages for patriotism; and the other, impelled onward by the current of events, in a career of ambition, to become the means of bringing the king's head to the block; to banish his children, and sit upon his throne.

Differences of opinions, upon political subjects, undoubtedly existed in the Colonies, from the beginning, similar to those which they left, and which prevailed contemporaneously in Europe. Custom, prejudice, varieties of capacity and education, and the occasional excess of selfish passions—vanity and the thirst for gain and power in individuals—maintained, while their recollections of Europe were distinct, and continued to maintain, as long as the political connexion existed, a spirit of party on the same subjects as those which convulsed the mother country. But popular doctrines predominated from the first, in America, and grew stronger as the ties, which drew them towards the old system, became weakened under the effect and influence of new scenes and occupations; and as the generations became, in time, farther removed from the parent stock. In all these party differences, too, an important peculiarity is to be observed. Colonial disturbances were always in favour of natural rights; to retain what they had, as it were, resumed from society, on betaking themselves to the forests, against the encroachments of lords proprietors, and royal governors. In Europe, on the contrary, the rights of the people had to struggle under every disadvantage, against established institutions and overwhelming power. While in the one country, therefore, their progress has been slow and painfully won, amid terrible convulsions; in the other they advanced rapidly, and soon threw off the petty impediments of European origin. When Burke, in his famous speech on conciliation with America, delivered in the British House of Commons, in 1775, spoke so warmly of the "love of freedom," as the "predominating feature" of the character of the Americans, he spoke truly and generously of what had grown up with them, from the earliest settlement. "That fierce spirit of liberty," which he then pronounced to be "stronger in the English Colonies, than in

any other people of the earth," was their inheritance from the magnanimous ancestors we have been describing; nurtured by perils, labour, and self-denial, until all their opinions, customs, inclinations, and habits of thought and feeling were impressed with the same hardy traits of independence. It harmonized with the rugged soil they cultivated and the vast solitudes and boundless forests by which they were surrounded, and strengthened, perpetually, by contrast, their repugnance to the narrow dogmas, the insolent assumptions, and artificial institutions of the over-crowded and oppressed population of Europe. The persecutions from which they had fled, voluntarily relinquishing their native land, to find political freedom and liberty of faith in the wilderness; the privations they endured, by hunger and cold, pestilence, famine, and war, to establish their new dwellings; the perpetual watchfulness with which, by day and night, while toiling for food and shelter, they had to defend their lives from the tomahawk of a subtle and merciless enemy, and at the same time, to maintain their rights against the unnatural oppressions of the mother country—all combined to invigorate the principles they brought with them, and to perfect, by severe bodily and mental discipline, a national character for austere virtue, irrepressible energy, and indomitable courage;—jealous and sagacious in its distrust of power; full of the pride of personal independence; quick to detect, and prompt to repel, all encroachments upon their rights.

A leading element in the early colonial character, and perhaps the strongest in giving it its peculiar cast of austerity and elevation, was religious enthusiasm. The settlers of New England were dissenters, who had been oppressed at home by church and state: by the Catholic, and by the established Protestant church, as either, in the alternate vibrations of this mighty engine of despotism, preponderated. They were, as Botta well expresses it, "Protestants against Protestantism itself," and added to the other pressing inducements to emigration the higher sanctions of religious duty. Many believed themselves under the immediate direction of heaven. The stern traits of the English Puritans, so remarkable in the civil wars of the first Charles, and under the Commonwealth, were strong in the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock, gradually losing, in their descendants, under the benign influence of a better knowledge and wider freedom, the fanaticism which predominated at home; but preserving their pious trust in

Providence, their frugal habits, exact morals, and vigilant sense of independence. The parliamentary act of uniformity, passed in 1662, by which two thousand of the most conscientious Presbyterian preachers were arbitrarily deprived of their livings, for refusing to subscribe to certain articles of belief, sent great numbers of the most learned and pious ministers of that faith into exile in the Colonies, where they contributed essentially to sustain this tone of elevated religious feeling. Many of them were thoroughly educated in the best English universities; and to them, the general diffusion of education, in the infancy of the Colonies, is mainly to be attributed. Those who have seen how extensive even now is the influence of the clergy of New England, over the minds and feelings of the people, can well imagine what must, in that day, have been the reception of so many zealous ministers, who had sacrificed every thing to conscience. As it was in Massachusetts, then the mother colony of New England, so it was in the other Colonies, which took their rise from her, and followed her examples of severe virtue, when they dissented from and resisted her religious discipline. Connecticut and New Haven, at first separate colonies, were principally peopled by emigrants from Massachusetts, in the spirit of voluntary adventure, without compulsion, and at first acted under her authority. But it must be recorded, as one of the anomalies of human nature, that New Hampshire and Rhode Island rose out of the religious dissensions and persecutions of those who had themselves been exiled by persecution. Exeter, the first settlement in New Hampshire, was founded in 1638, by a party of Colonists, who had been compelled to leave Massachusetts, for adopting the peculiar religious sentiments which Mrs. Hutchinson taught, and for which she had been excommunicated; and two years previous, Roger Williams, under similar persecutions, had established the colony of Rhode Island. This latter case, in particular, affords striking proof of the inconsistency of men, in the new possession of power, and inexperienced in the practical application of universal principles to affairs touching their individual consciences; and, at the same time, it demonstrates how happily the character of the Colonists was adapted to defeat the effects and consequences of those antiquated errors, and to prove religious despotism as incompatible with the condition of America as political despotism. Williams, banished from Massachusetts, for entertaining

views of the right of private opinion, in religious matters, and the injustice of government interference in points of faith, too liberal to suit the Synod, established, in 1636, the colony of Providence, so called in gratitude for his deliverance, upon the basis of entire freedom of conscience. There he was subsequently joined by many others, maintaining the same liberality of sentiment. The sternness of religious enthusiasm was softened in them by the benevolent influences of their tolerant institutions, and the effect was gradually returned to the mother colony in which they had been proscribed, enlarging the kindlier traits of the New England character, without affecting its exact sobriety of manners; its vigorous contempt of luxury, or its pious elevation of sentiment.

Nor were these ecclesiastical dissensions, springing, as they did, out of a European taint of error, and defeated by the operations of circumstances peculiar to America, unfavourable to the general cause of liberty. In a country so boundless, and with political freedom so entirely unrestrained, religious intolerance had only the effect of dispersing communities and multiplying new settlements. Where state power could not restrain emigration, and the genius of the people was averse to all arbitrary institutions, religious tyranny could be but a temporary insanity, and its fruits were a farther enlightenment of public opinion, hostile to its repetition. They who feared not to cross the ocean, then deemed a perilous undertaking, in search of greater liberty of conscience, could not fear to remove a few miles further, to become entirely masters of their own actions. They, who, under these delusions, drove forth their fellow colonists from among them, found that persecution could not conquer its victims, and that at every attempt to oppress, more enlightened principles grew up in every direction, beyond their reach. The futility of the effort, as well as the natural reaction stimulated by an increasing freedom of political inquiry, soon checked this intolerant spirit. Out of the ardent discussions and controversies, and the social improvements to which they led, grew greater liberty of thought; more subtle inquiry into original principles; a stronger assertion of individual rights, an aptitude to inquire rigidly into all pretensions to authority over them, and promptness to repel encroachment.

It ought to be added, in justice to the New England clergy

of the period, that these mistaken notions of religious supremacy were, by no means, accompanied by any predilection for arbitrary power in politics. As a body, they were, from the beginning, among the sturdiest defenders of the rights of the Colonies. In the very midst of their highest intolerance, at a very early period of the attempts of the royal authority against the colonial charters, they gave a unanimous evidence of their love for political liberty. In the year preceding that in which Providence was peopled by their persecutions, movements were made in England, hostile to the charter, and the design avowed of forming all New England into a consolidated government. The Colonists, in alarm, summoned the ministers, as "the fathers of the Commonwealth," to aid the magistrates with their counsel. All but one met at Boston, in 1635, and unanimously advised, that if the scheme of a general government should be persisted in, and a royal governor sent out, the Colonists "ought not to accept him, but defend their lawful possessions, if able; otherwise, to avoid and protract." Nearly fifty years afterwards they manifested a like intrepid spirit, and the historian Hutchinson says, that they "turned the scale in favour of resistance to the arbitrary measures of Charles II. The struggle between the Colony and the king's officers had been long and violent; and the agents of the province in London, had written home in despondency, representing their case as desperate, and desiring the general court to determine whether, since many cities in England and some of the plantations had submitted, it were better "to resign" to his majesty's pleasure, or suffer a quo warranto to issue. Under the advisement of the ministers, after debate, it was concluded, in a magnanimous phrase that deserves commemoration, that they would not submit, for "it was better to die by the hands of others, than by their own."

Though these religious persecutions chiefly prevailed in New England, yet their influences extended through the whole country, to which New England contributed so much of population, and such prominent traits of character. Other colonies too, practised, at different times, a similar policy, and the same remarks are applicable to them.

Returning from this digressive view of the effects of a particular modification of the early religious temperament of the mother colonies, which was necessary to a true estimate of their character, we find the same temperament, sometimes

under similar modifications, and always with similar effects, in the southern provinces. Originally, English dissenters, of the Presbyterian faith, peopled the northern settlements: In Pennsylvania the Quakers founded their city of refuge, and Episcopalians were the great majority in Virginia. Maryland had been made, at a very early period, the peaceful asylum of Catholics, who, tired of the violence of contending parties at home, each by turn persecutor or victim, as the state formed by turns an alliance with the strongest sect, established on the Chesapeake, the first community in the world, in which entire freedom of conscience was a fundamental maxim of law. It preceded the settlement of Providence, by two years. St. Mary's, in Maryland, was founded by Lord Baltimore, with a company of "Roman Catholics, of family and fortune," about two hundred in number, in 1634. The expulsion of Roger Williams from Massachusetts, and his pilgrimage in search of a land of rest, did not take place till 1636. The new colony received numerous additions even from New England. The established church in Virginia made the same perilous error of judgment as the Synod of Massachusetts; and it forms a curious fact in the history of the human mind, that exiles from intolerant Episcopacy in Virginia; persecuted dissenters from puritan New England; the Swedes driven by violence from Delaware, and French Huguenots from Europe, found generous protection and complete freedom of faith in a colony of Catholics.

Still farther south the same religious feelings entered into the propelling motives of the emigrants, and impressed their traits upon subsequent generations. The first settlers south of Virginia were refugees from that state, fleeing from church persecutions, who established themselves on Albemarle Sound, in North Carolina, between 1640 and 1650. South Carolina received her first population from New England, and subsequently a large accession of numbers in French Protestants, expelled from their native country by the perfidious and suicidal act of Louis XIV., in the revocation of the Edict of Nantz. Many of these families were to be found in every colony, and they were firm advocates of tolerant principles. The German Palatines, too, escaping from persecution at home, came over in considerable numbers, and settled in different parts of the two Carolinas. Bound together by similarity of condition, common sufferings and identity of principles, these Colonists, though of various nations originally, soon acquired,

under the operation of the same strong moral influences, traits of character nearly uniform. By far the largest proportion of the population, even in the southern plantations, was received directly from Great Britain, or from the northern British settlements. The English language, English customs, habits of thought and political theories, prevailed over every other; and emigrants from all other nations were soon fused into the general mass of English descendants.

The laws, opinions, and institutions, which these had brought with them, were derived from the British constitution, itself the freest in Europe, and were made necessarily more liberal by the democratic tendencies and peculiar condition of those by whom they were re-established. To the theoretical freedom, for which first the Puritans in England, and after them the Whigs contended, they superadded an impatience of restraint, and a repugnance to royal and ecclesiastical prerogative, which were continually strengthened by the absence of all visible signs and memorials of these arbitrary institutions; by the equality of condition existing among themselves; by their peculiar occupation as agriculturalists, and by their physical position in the midst of an almost untenanted continent; and were finally aggravated to resistance and revolution by violent assaults. At the distance of three thousand miles from the pomp of courts, the seductive influences of luxury, the ostentatious pretensions of fashion and wealth, the aristocracy and the peerage; for the most part simple cultivators of the soil or hardy navigators;—with no distinctions of rank among them, except such as were sent them in foreign rulers, and were, in consequence, more repulsive to their feelings—with no differences of condition, except in degrees of competence, as they were individually more or less industrious, frugal, austere, laborious, pious,—continually spreading over the country fresh settlements, still more widely removed from connexion with England; and knowing little of her except in the orders and governors she sent them:—nothing existed naturally to conciliate their feelings towards the institutions of monarchy. Had no extraordinary dissensions broken out to precipitate the course of events, it would have been not the less impossible for such a people, so situated and trained, and of such dispositions, to remain subject to a foreign power. Everything in their position and character tended invariably to independence; and not only to independence, but to democratic institutions. So

clear was this tendency, while they were yet in their infancy, that when the Commission was appointed, in 1664, by Charles II., to "settle the peace of the Colonies," the famous Earl of Clarendon, in his draught of their instructions, added as a commentary upon the stubborn spirit of the Colonies—"They are already hardened into republics."

Though a peaceable separation must inevitably have taken place at some day, not far distant, as surely as the child discovers his capacity to take care of himself, and becomes independent of his parents; it might have happened, as is often the case in the same domestic relation, that dependence would be protracted long after any necessity existed on either side for mutual aid. Affection would certainly have done much to preserve, in America, tender recollections and grateful deference, long after power would have failed to exact obedience, or the comparative resources of the two countries would have justified any claim to superiority on the part of Great Britain. But such was not the relation between Great Britain and the Colonies. As the parent country, she was, from the beginning, an unnatural parent; one who neglected her offspring; left them to their own exertions for preservation and support; and never inquired into their welfare, until she thought it time to put in a technical claim to a portion of their earnings. Nothing in her conduct towards them in their weakness was designed or calculated to touch their affections with a sense of gratitude, and fortunately for them, they thus escaped the sense of dependence. They were fugitives from a tyranny, practised under the forms of her constitution, into the wilderness; and no relenting kindness followed them into exile, to sustain them in their labours, or sympathize in their sufferings. With their own means they escaped from her persecutions; with their own hands they hewed out for themselves habitations in the forests; fought their own way to power; built up commonwealths; established governments; endowed colleges, and carried on, at prodigious expense, warlike campaigns against their enemies and hers, with scarcely so much remuneration from her resources as would defray the cost of her own part of the military establishment, though the quarrels in the several French wars, were, with slight exceptions, entirely her own. They spent vast sums, and lost the flower of their population,—not to insist upon their claims upon her for the heroism of their actions,—altogether for British objects; in return for which, they only got empty thanks in the first in-

stance, and obloquy and persecution afterwards. Not till they had established a commerce, the monopoly of which was an object of gain to British merchants, were they deemed worthy of attention; and they accordingly thrived on their own strength and industry. History records the jealousy of self-estimation with which they rejected offers of aid, at times when their own means were tasked, and the contest ought to have been exclusively British. Never was anything more foreign to recorded facts, or more revolting to the true spirit of the Americans, than the boast so frequently made during the discussions just before the declaration of independence, by British orators, of the protection, indulgence, and bounty of Great Britain, and the ingratitude of the Colonies. We cannot better describe the true nature of these relations, than in the words of *David Hartley*, a British Whig of high reputation, who was subsequently one of the British Commissioners for concluding the peace of 1783. Our extract is part of a vigorous speech, which he made in defence of America, in the British House of Commons, in 1775, and is interesting both as an historical item of interest, recapitulating authentic facts, which have an important bearing on the course of events we are describing, and as sustaining, on the best British authority, the fact of the actual independence of the Colonies, of all aid from Great Britain, in the times of their weakness. He said:

"Whenever Great Britain has declared war, they (the Colonies) have taken their part. They were engaged in king William's wars, and queen Anne's, even in their infancy. They conquered Acadia in the last century, for us; and we then gave it up. Again, in queen Anne's war, they conquered Nova Scotia, which, from that time, has always belonged to Great Britain. They have been engaged in more than one expedition to Canada, ever foremost to partake of honour and danger with the mother country."

"Well, Sir, what have we done for them? Have we conquered the country for them from the Indians? Have we cleared it? Have we drained it? Have we made it habitable? What have we done for them? I believe, precisely nothing at all, but just keeping watch and ward over their trade, that they should receive nothing but from ourselves, at our own price. I will not positively say that we have spent nothing; though I do not recollect any such article upon our journals: but I mean any material expense in set-

ting them out as Colonists. The royal military government of Nova Scotia cost, indeed, not a little sum; above £500,000 for its plantation, and its first years. Had your other colonies cost anything similar either in their outset or support, there would have been something to say on that side; but, instead of that, they have been left to themselves for one hundred or one hundred and fifty years, upon the fortune and capital of private adventurers, to encounter every difficulty and danger. What towns have we built for them? What desert have we cleared? What country have we conquered for them from the Indians? Name the officers—name the troops—the expeditions—their dates. Where are they to be found? Not in the journals of this kingdom. They are nowhere to be found."

"In all the wars which have been common to us and them, they have taken their full share. But in all their own dangers, in the difficulties belonging separately to their situation, in all the Indian wars which did not immediately concern us, we left them to themselves to struggle their way through. For the whim of a minister, you can bestow half a million to build a town, and to plant a royal colony of Nova Scotia; a greater sum than you have bestowed upon every other colony together."

"And notwithstanding all these, which are the real facts, now that they have struggled through their difficulties, and begin to hold up their heads, and to show that empire which promises to be the foremost in the world, we claim them and theirs, as implicitly belonging to us, without any consideration of their own rights. We charge them with ingratitude, without the least regard to truth, just as if this kingdom had for a century and a half, attended to no other object; as if all our revenue, all our power, all our thought had been bestowed upon them, and all our national debt had been contracted in the Indian wars of America; totally forgetting the subordination in commerce and manufactures, in which we have bound them, and for which, at least, we owe them help towards their protection."

"Look at the preamble of the act of navigation, and every American act, and see if the interest of this country is not the avowed object. If they make a hat or a piece of steel, an act of parliament calls it a nuisance; a tilting hammer, a steel furnace, must be abated in America as a nuisance. Sir, I speak from facts. I call your books of statutes and journals

to witness; with the least recollection, every one must acknowledge the truth of these facts."

Thus this wise and upright statesman bore testimony to the spirit and courage of the Colonies, and vindicated their claim to a character for noble independence, at the very time when the ministry was insisting that they should be, in his forcible description of British legislation, "taxed and talliaged, to pay for the rod of iron" preparing for them.

Under such circumstances, physical, religious, and political, as we have attempted thus cursorily to describe, the peculiar character of the Colonies, as it existed in the middle of the eighteenth century, was formed. Without taking into consideration those active causes of distrust, which were constantly occurring to weaken the feelings of attachment between the two countries, some of which we shall shortly recapitulate, it is obvious, that in a people of such a temper, with so fine a country and but a feeble political connexion with a distant power, existed all the elements of an independent nation. Proud, enterprising, hardy, virtuous—rapidly growing in wealth and consequence, by the expansive nature of their own energies—entirely unrestricted in territory, and untrammelled by ancient errors, they had but few points in common with any other nation; and every year seemed to separate them more distinctly, as prepared for a new and peculiar frame of government.

Notwithstanding these lines of separation gradually diverging more and more widely, and notwithstanding all the original bitterness of feeling and personal disappointments, which the first Colonists carried over with them, it is beyond doubt, that their descendants, for several generations, entertained a lively affection for the land of their European ancestors. Under the severest trials from the aggressions of Great Britain, they still spoke of her with tenderness as of a parent, harsh through a noble temper, misguided by evil counsellors. Most of them had foresight enough to see the tendency of her measures, when they invaded colonial rights, and firmness enough to meet them with instant remonstrance and zealous opposition; yet few ever attributed them to a settled design upon the liberties of America, until the Stamp Act and its successors were passed. Even at a very late period of their dissensions, a revolution formed no part of their scheme of redress; and wise, honest, and fearless men doubted to the very day that independence was

proclaimed. The principal men in the Colonies had received their education in England, and the endearing appellation of the "mother country," commonly used in speaking of her, shows how kindly she was remembered in after life. A voyage to England was familiarly called, going "home." These connexions were numerous in every colony, and the first and best educated men, everywhere in America, were attached to England and Englishmen by personal ties of blood and intimate relations of friendship. Their attachments were strengthened still more by a community of party feeling. The Colonists felt with, and uniformly aided, the popular party in England, to the extent of their power, and sympathized with them in all their adversities, as brethren and fellow sufferers. To the Tories and high-church men who were the advocates of arbitrary power in England, were opposed the Puritans and Whigs, and their descendants, kindred in blood and in sentiment to the first settlers in this country. The oppressions of America, whether by the Charleses, or James the II., or the administrations that followed his expulsion, had generally a resisting minority in England; friends of America, who took up her cause as one of their domestic disputes. The violent invasions of the charters, that were so ably resisted, created no national discord between the countries, because both were struggling in a common cause, for the establishment of common principles, and the same constitutional doctrines. The Magna Charta—the Bill of Rights, and the theoretic freedom of the British constitution, were invariably appealed to by America, in all cases of controversy between the colonial legislatures and the lords proprietaries, or the royal governors. Community of language and literature added new force to these ties; and, what was subsequently complained of as a great grievance, the close intimacy of commercial intercourse, under the operation of restrictive duties and the navigation acts, had originally, by no means an unfavourable effect. The principles of trade and commerce were not then understood as they are now. The restraining acts of the British parliament, which monopolized the navigation and trade of America, and prohibited many important branches of manufacture, had no sensible effect upon the prosperity of the Colonies, and were deemed to be within the legitimate powers of government. The colonial system was such as the contemporaneous practice of all nations and all experience seemed to justify; and without much

critical inquiry, feeling no immediate evil, owing to the laxity with which it was administered, they acquiesced in it; receiving as an apparent remuneration, the protection of the British flag, and the use of English capital. It was not until the commencement of the year 1764, when, under the bold schemes of taxation and subjection, adopted by the ministry, political rights began to be so keenly discussed, that the commercial question was seriously investigated with a hostile spirit. Some of the relaxations of the strict system, which had been tolerated through motives of prudence, were about that time suddenly and capriciously suspended. The Colonies soon learnt, under the smart of this infliction, that however the theory of the British constitution might create a distinction between the two kinds of taxation—for revenue and for the regulation of commerce—both were, in fact, equally repugnant to their natural rights, as well as unworthy of their powerful and prosperous condition. Men's minds then began to stir themselves, in acute inquiries into the whole history of the British policy towards America, and the whole theory of British supremacy. An attempt to raise taxes for revenue, as well as for commercial regulations, ended in the denial of the right to do either; and the affirmance of the power of parliament, to bind "in all cases whatsoever," resulted in the total loss of power. Till the Peace of Paris, in 1763, neither the collisions that had taken place, nor the selfish and oppressive laws which had been enacted, from time to time, had affected seriously the general good disposition of the Colonies to the mother country. Those dispositions continued, subject only to the gradual weakening arising from change of circumstances,—occasionally wounded by some glaring act of tyranny, but never altogether alienated,—until the projects of the Grenville ministry, commencing in 1763–4, which roused the resentment of all America, and united them in the rejection of all political dependence whatever on Great Britain.

It is foreign to the purpose of this work to trace the alternate diminutions and partial restoration of these kindly sentiments, or to detail the various modes, and numerous instances in which the spirit of independence displayed itself in their actions and principles. Those who are familiar with the colonial annals, know how replete they are with anecdotes of personal and public virtue and heroism—how they abound in the best examples of patient industry, and

grave sobriety of deportment, united to the liveliest sensibility to noble actions and motives, and the keenest watchfulness in defence of civil liberty. They must be studied attentively by all who desire a just acquaintance with the facts of colonial history, and the character of the colonists. The limits of the present volume will not permit more than the general sketch, made thus briefly of the principles and motives, and their sources, to which the world owes the establishment of American Liberty by the revolution. Still confining ourselves, though less strictly, to results rather than details of fact, to the course of events bearing directly upon the relations between Great Britain and her Colonies, rather than to a mere narrative of consecutive facts,—the French war of 1756, ending in 1763, at the Peace of Paris, will occupy the ensuing chapter. In it will be found, many of the proximate causes and provocations, which operating on the American Colonies, hastened the separation of the two countries.

CHAPTER III.

The Peace of Paris, which, after a century and a half of warfare between Great Britain and France, for supremacy in America, established completely the British ascendency, was signed at Paris by the ministers of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, on the 10th of February, 1763. France lost by it all her ancient possessions in America, except the town of New Orleans, and a few scattering settlements on the Mississippi. England gained from France a renunciation and guarantee of Nova Scotia, (then called Acadie,) Canada, and the islands in the river and Gulf of St. Lawrence: and from Spain a cession and guarantee of Florida, and all Spanish claims and possessions in North America, east and south-east of the Mississippi. The British American dominions, therefore, extended from the north-eastern extremity of the continent to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi to the Atlantic; a mighty territory, acquired by immense labour and after many expensive wars, which was destined to be lost to the crown of Britain, in a few years, by its own folly and cupidity. The new acquisitions were erected, by proclamation, in October of the same year, into three new governments, under the titles of Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida. The policy of the English cabinet towards the Colonies then took that decided tone, which had occasionally appeared before, but had never been persevered in against their prompt remonstrances, while the French were in such dangerous proximity. Relieved now from this apprehension, and no longer requiring their aid to maintain the ascendency of the British arms, they commenced that system of government and taxation, which provoked the resistance of America and separated the empire.

What added to the anxiety of Great Britain to strengthen her power over the Colonies, was the great resources they had displayed during that war. They had, in fact, made prodigious exertions—raised troops and money, and continued to raise them, year after year, with unexpected spirit, and far beyond their proportion of service, as part of the British nation. One year with another, they kept twenty-

five thousand men in the field, during the whole seven years. When the elder Pitt, in 1758, called upon the colonial governors for the largest levies the population would allow, three colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, voted him fifteen thousand men. In one day £20,000 sterling were subscribed by individuals in the town of Boston alone, to encourage enlistment. Minot estimates the cost of that campaign to the colonial treasury of Massachusetts, at £120,000, and to private persons, at £60,000 more. In one year Massachusetts had in the field 7,000 troops, "a greater levy," says Minot, "for a single province, than the three kingdoms had made, collectively, since the revolution," seventy years before. Such was the intrepidity of that ancient and "unterrified" commonwealth—the more commendable, as we shall see, because she was, at the same time, stoutly contending for her privileges against the king's prerogative. The other colonies showed a similar spirit. There were seven thousand provincial troops in the campaign under Winslow, in 1756. In the next year, the Earl of Loudon, the commander-in-chief, made a requisition of four thousand troops, which were supplied immediately from New England. But eighteen hundred of the number were apportioned to Massachusetts, because she had already so many soldiers in the field; yet, when four additional companies were called for in the next year, they too were furnished. Half of the army of Amherst, that made the northern campaign, in which Quebec was taken by Wolfe, was composed of provincials. They were present and active at the capture of Louisburgh—they took the Island of Cape Breton—they conquered Forts Frontenac and Duquesne. We have the testimony of the same Mr. Hartley, from whom we quoted before, in favour of the vast importance of these services to the issue of the war, by which Great Britain gained so much. "The Americans," he said, "turned the success of the war at both ends of the line. General Monckton took Beausejour in Nova Scotia, with fifteen hundred provincial troops, and about two hundred regulars. Sir William Johnson, in the other part of America, changed the face of the war to success, with a provincial army, which took Baron Dieskau prisoner. But, Sir, the glories of the war under the united British and American arms, are recent in every one's memory. Suffice it to decide this question, that the Americans bore, even in our judgment, more than their full proportion; that this

House did annually vote them an acknowledgment of their zeal and strenuous efforts and compensation for the EXCESS of their zeal and expenses, above their due proportion."

A large continental force was at the reduction of Martinique, in 1762, and Spain having joined in the war, they helped largely in the capture of Havana for England. By sea, too, they were no less zealous. It is on record, that their own ships were stripped of sailors to man the navy of Great Britain. It was admitted, in debate, in the House of Commons, in 1775, that ten thousand American seamen were in the British naval service, in the war of 1756. Four hundred armed vessels issued from their ports against the commerce of France and Spain.

For these services and exertions, which are cited as evidence of their warm attachment of Great Britain, they received tardy thanks and slower remuneration. It is computed that they had a just claim upon the British government for £3,000,000 more than the sums voted as indemnity. They bore, in fact, the burden of the conflict, by which an immense territory was won for Great Britain, and a formidable rival finally discomfited.

The return of the government for these services and sufferings would have chilled the warmest affections. It had a strong effect, when subsequently mixed up with more direct aggressions, in alienating the feelings of the Colonists. The jealousy which had more than once been manifested in England, against the growth of the Colonies, provoked by their political intrepidity, was aggravated into settled prejudice by the strength and resources they had exhibited. Instead of gratitude for the zeal and bravery by which a peace so advantageous had been won, the peace itself had opposers, because it relieved the Colonies from French hostility, and thus lessened their dependence on Great Britain. While the negotiations were pending, a project was seriously entertained, and defended in ministerial pamphlets, to restore Canada to France in exchange for some of her possessions elsewhere, for the avowed purpose of keeping the Colonies in check by an enemy. It was on this occasion that Dr. Franklin's celebrated Canada pamphlet was written to expose the injustice and illiberality of such a treaty. The royal proclamation which followed the peace, regulating the new conquests, contained a provision aimed against the further growth of the colonies westward. It forbade strictly

all settlements in the old colonies, beyond the heads of the rivers that run eastwardly into the Atlantic. Consistent with this same policy, selfish and ungrateful as it was, every discouragement and prohibition was opposed to the formation of inland settlements, with the express design of confining the Colonies, as the Board of Trade, in a subsequent report, officially stated, "within reach of the trade and commerce of Great Britain."

Such was the temper with which the war of 1756 was concluded. Its commencement had been signalized by a similar line of policy, manifested in another mode. The history of the Albany plan of Union, projected in 1754, and which failed from the same unreasonable jealousy of America, is worthy to be quoted here, both in pursuance of our plan of bringing together the principal provocations which led to American resistance, and the proximate causes which disturbed the harmony between the two countries, and as an interesting item of colonial history.

War with France had become inevitable, although not declared. Orders were accordingly dispatched from England for the Colonies to hold themselves in readiness. These were accompanied by a recommendation from the Board of Trade, to form a confederation for joint defence, and an alliance with the Indians. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, recommended a convention, which was accordingly held at Albany, and a plan of union, drawn up by Benjamin Franklin, was adopted, and, singularly enough, signed on the 4th of July. It proposed to apply to parliament for an act to establish a general government in the Colonies, to be administered by a President General, appointed by the king, to possess the whole executive power, with a veto power on all laws, and be assisted by a Grand Council elected by the Colonies. They were to have the joint power of declaring war and making peace; to conclude treaties with the Indian tribes, regulate trade with them, and purchase their lands either in the name of the Crown or of the Union; to settle new colonies and make laws concerning them, until erected into separate governments; to raise troops, build forts, fit out armed vessels, and use other means for national defence. For these purposes they were to be empowered to lay and collect taxes, &c.

The Colonies undertook, if this plan were accepted, to defend themselves against the French, without any assistance from Great Britain. Connecticut dissented in convention

from the plan, as depriving the separate colonies of their taxing power, and it was rejected by the king in council, as an attempt to establish too much independence. The counter project, drawn up by the ministry, and transmitted for the consideration of the Colonies, was artfully devised to obtain a general sanction by the Colonies themselves of the parliamentary right of taxation for revenue. It proposed a sort of congress of the governors and some members of the councils to act for all the Colonies, and to draw, in the first instance, for the expenditures on the British treasury, reimbursable by "a tax to be laid on the Colonies by act of parliament." This would have been an unqualified surrender of the revenue power to the discretion of men, for the most part, appointed by the ministry; and it was ably exposed in Dr. Franklin's celebrated letter to Governor Shirley. He therein, after touching the constitutional difficulties, made a bold and convincing summary of the benefits enjoyed by Great Britain in her monopoly of American commerce and manufactures—benefits which he estimated to cost America more for the gain of England, than any fair proportion of the taxes of the United Kingdom. Public attention was keenly awakened by the discussion in that letter, which embodied, in a sententious manner, many arguments subsequently employed against British supremacy. The projected plan failed on both sides, and Great Britain, however reluctantly, was obliged to bring her own forces into the field, and bear some portion of the cost.

Minor controversies between the royal and colonial authorities also constantly occurred during the war, that tended to irritate and renew old irritations. Though not of importance enough, considered separately, to have permanently affected the relations of the two countries, yet taken in connexion with circumstances immediately preceding, and followed up by grosser aggravations, they were, in a subsequent review of the conduct of Great Britain, believed to be the fruits and the evidence of an inveterate prejudice against the Americans, and a settled hostility against their principles. The royal regulation concerning the relative rank of colonial officers and the regular troops, created great disgust and dissatisfaction, especially in Virginia, where, but for the magnanimity of the Virginia officers, it would have totally broken up the campaign of 1756, under Generals Winslow, and Abercrombie, and the Earl of Loudon. In the subsequent year, a controversy

of great asperity was carried on between the Massachusetts general court and the British commander-in-chief, Lord Loudon. He undertook to insist upon their providing quarters for the British troops, pursuant to the acts of the British parliament. The demand was at first complied with, warily, and with the protestation that it was granted, not as a "matter of right," but as a free-will advance of money on the "national account." Upon a repetition of the claim, the magistrates refused compliance, and were sustained by the legislature, in the spirit and on the principles that afterwards produced the revolution. They told him that the magistrates were responsible to them, and bound only by the laws of the colony of Massachusetts, and that the acts of parliament, in question, were not binding in America. By their charter they claimed all civil power, the enjoyment of which privileges they told him "was their support under all burdens." The same year was distinguished by angry contests concerning the right of taxation, between the Governor and Assembly of Pennsylvania. The agent in England, who managed the controversy for the colony against the proprietaries, was Benjamin Franklin; and in that field of inquiry, involving the principles of taxation and representation, his acute mind was trained for the noble part which he was afterwards called upon to sustain in the revolution.

Other colonies were similarly vexed; but the dispute in Massachusetts, in 1761, between the prerogative party, headed by Governor Bernard and Lieutenant Governor (then Chief Justice) Hutchinson, on the one side, and the people of Boston on the other, concerning writs of assistance, is deserving of more particular notice, by reason of the boldness of the doctrines advanced on the colonial side, and their influence on subsequent events. Opposition already existed to the revenue laws, as administered, and the custom-house officers, representing themselves to be obstructed in the performance of their duties, applied for writs of assistance, according to the usage of the exchequer in England. The material question arose, whether the practice of the English Exchequer was obligatory on colonial courts, and thence the argument turned upon the character of the process prayed for. James Otis, who was Advocate General for the Admiralty, resigned his office, to appear in behalf of the citizens of Boston, in opposition to the claim. His speech has been quoted by Ex-President, the first Adams, as a masterly

exposition of colonial rights, under the charters, and of human rights, independently of all charters, against all assumptions of unjust power in every form, whether by force of precedents, the usurpations of monarchy, or the decisions of legal tribunals against the principles of liberty. He went over the history of the charters, and those who founded the colony "by the sweat of their brows; at the hazard and sacrifice of their lives; without the smallest aid, assistance, or comfort from the government of England, or from England as a nation—On the contrary, meeting with constant jealousy, envy, and intrigue against their charter, their religion, and all their privileges," and "reproached the nation, parliament, and king with injustice, illiberality, ingratitude, and oppression in their conduct."

His courageous argument and spirited invective carried the point in favour of popular rights. The demand for the writ was in effect defeated. If granted by the court at all, which is an uncertain point, it never was formally announced, and they certainly were never used. Mr. Adams, who heard the oration of Otis, thought it the ablest he ever knew, and ranked it among the principal preparatory events to the revolution. He adds, "I do say, in the most solemn manner, that Mr. Otis' oration against writs of assistance breathed into this nation the breath of life."

The records of those times furnish us with many similar instances which we might quote, of harshness and unkindness on the one side, and resentment and remonstrance on the other; of power occasionally assuming the port of tyranny, and resistance rising almost to independence. They may also be traced, fewer and less palpable in their effects, back through the whole colonial history. We cite them here partly as signs of the prevailing temper of the Colonies; but chiefly to mark the disposition of the mother country towards them, under circumstances calling for grateful indulgence and support. At the very time when Americans were pouring out their best blood in every part of the continent, for her glory and advantage,—in Canada, on the Ohio, in the West Indies; fighting her battles and conquering for her, possessions larger in extent than the whole United Kingdom; she was, without compunction, prosecuting, as fast as her own share of these dangers gave her leisure, a scheme to deprive them of rights earned by two centuries of patient industry and indomitable courage. We have seen that in the peace

of 1763, she used the power that they had earned for her, in a spirit of envy at their prosperity, and dread of their increase—that she was near sacrificing an important conquest to maintain in Canada an enemy to overawe them; and that her first action in regulating these conquests, was designed to repress their growth, by confining their enterprise to the Atlantic coast, in the fear that they might else penetrate into the interior, beyond the reach of her taxing power. Dissatisfaction naturally prevailed, especially in the New England colonies, who had done and suffered most. Had a new system succeeded at that time, things might have relapsed into their old state, as in cases of former difficulty. Perhaps, if due honour had been paid to their military exploits, and soothing expedients used to quiet the fears of parliamentary encroachment and British injustice, which had become general shortly after the close of the war, no immediate danger to their political connexion with England, would have followed. The recollection of common toils, achievements, and victories, during the war, added to the many other common sympathies which existed, might, under the influence of generous treatment, and with cautious forbearance, have quieted the dissatisfaction and preserved, for many years, a close but gradually relaxing connexion between England and America.

Unhappily for Great Britain, other counsels were adopted. No pause was allowed in the prosecution of the design to break the spirit and subvert the rights of the Colonies. New and odious restrictions upon their commerce followed rapidly after the peace. Their minds, already ill-disposed by other vexations, were exasperated by the abuse of those powers over the regulation of their commerce, which they conceded to belong to the British parliament; and in that temper a bold usurpation was attempted of the power to tax for revenue without their consent;—thus to deprive them of their chartered rights and reduce them to unconditional slavery.

A historical and statistical view of the separate colonies does not come within the scope of this work. Up to the war of 1756, with the exception of the early New England Confederation, they had acted, in all cases, as distinct governments, united occasionally against a common enemy; and communicating with each other on subjects of common interest, but without any political union. Each was independent of the other, in fact—though, from the causes we have endeavoured to explain, all pursued nearly the same

career, formed nearly the same opinions, social and political, and established a like national character. The Albany plan of Union first brought them together, to consult upon a joint administration of their affairs, for common objects; and though that failed, the war which followed kept them united in feelings and identified them more closely together. Thenceforward, they were called to act and to think—to discuss, remonstrate, and finally to resist, by arms, together. From the war of 1756 to 1763, therefore, date, in point of fact, the first movements of the Colonies towards a more intimate union. We have dated, from the same period, their first movements towards independence. External violence and constitutional aggression impelled them, at once, to separate sovereignty and united councils. Liberty and union sprang into being together. They have been hitherto co-existent and inseparable. Their mutual dependence is established by experience, as a law of their nature; for while we have a warrant in the character of our people and the nature of their constitutions, that Union without liberty, which would be a frightful despotism, can never exist under the watchful jealousy of the states; we know that liberty without Union, would be a bye-word for anarchy and confusion—the forerunner of border warfare and sanguinary conflicts without number, to impoverish, degrade, corrupt, and finally enslave all.

The Anglo-American Colonies were thirteen in number. The four New England provinces were Massachusetts, including Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. The other nine were New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The population was variously estimated. At the breaking out of the war in 1776, it was little less than *three* millions. In 1749, the whole white population is estimated, as nearly as possible, from authorities of the time, to have been one million and fixty-six thousand. No materials exist for a precise census, at any one intervening period. Censuses of separate colonies were made at different times, and documents from various sources enable us to make an estimate approaching to accuracy; that, at the beginning of the civil troubles, in 1764, the white inhabitants of the Colonies were not fewer in number than a million and three quarters, and the blacks, from three to four hundred thousand.

CHAPTER IV.

THE great accession of power and territory by Great Britain, by the peace of 1763, had not been gained without the usual concomitants of war—lavish expenditures of money, increased taxation, and a rapidly accumulating debt. Sinclair estimates the total charges of the war at more than *one hundred and eleven millions* sterling, beyond the ordinary charges of the peace establishment, which were about *forty millions* more. The clamours of the nation against the weight of the necessary taxes had had its effect in hastening the conclusion of peace, on terms which, however favourable in themselves, were affirmed by a party in England, at the head of which was the elder Pitt, to be less than the successes of the British arms entitled them to demand. The Earl of Bute, as Prime Minister, had carried the war to its conclusion, and obtained a large majority in favour of the treaty, in the month of February. A few days afterwards, the supply bill for the year came up, and after vehement opposition, was also carried. On the 16th of April, Lord Bute unexpectedly resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville. No other change of importance, either in the cabinet or its measures took place. Parliament adjourned on the 19th: and on the death of the Earl of Egremont, in the recess, the Earl of Sandwich was made principal Secretary of State, and the Earl of Hillsborough first Lord of Trade and of the Plantations, which included the duties of Secretary for the Colonies. April, 1763.

The king's speech, on the adjournment of parliament, alluded plainly to the financial distresses of the nation, and lamented the necessity that had existed for anticipating the revenues, largely, and imposing new burdens upon the people.

In this state of public affairs, the nation, loaded with debt, discontented with the burden, and looking to the new minister to lighten the pressure, it became the anxious study of Mr. Grenville to devise means for recruiting the Treasury, and removing, as far as practicable, the causes of popular dissatisfaction. The new and flourishing field for taxation in America, opened itself to his view. The war just ended,

had been, according to the estimate put upon it by English writers, undertaken for American objects. The defence of the American frontier, and the repulse of an enemy who was invading the American provinces, were hastily assumed as merely colonial benefits, towards the cost of which it was unjust that the Colonies should not pay their proportion in debt and taxes. No consideration was given to the reflection, that they had borne more than their proportion in the war, both of men and money—that they had no share in the large conquests of territory which were gained to the empire—that the defence of a frontier is the business of the whole nation, and that the immense profits of the colonial monopoly to British commerce were a tax, heavy in proportion to their ability, which they paid beyond the rest of the king's subjects. The necessities of the British government required relief, and its cupidity was tempted by the proofs they had given of what they were capable of doing, and by the reports of their wealth and enterprise; and its pride was touched by the tone of independence, manifested in all their actions and habits. To Great Britain, therefore, the project of a revenue from America, was, in the highest degree, pleasing. There was the expectation of lucrative sources of revenue, and of immediate relief from their own burdens—there were also the pride of dominion the haughtiness and self-confidence of vast military triumphs, and the firm belief that thirteen disunited provinces, thinly spread over a great territory, without soldiery or fleets, and strong only in their industry and the energies of the individual inhabitants, would not dare to stand up, seriously, in opposition to a great and powerful nation, whose navies covered the seas; whose armies had just discomfited the combined forces of France and Spain in both hemispheres, and were formidable to all Europe. To tax America, was therefore likely to be a popular measure, and although it did meet with opposition from a few, in the beginning, it is not to be questioned, that Mr. Grenville judged correctly of the sentiment of England in proposing it; and that the war undertaken to enforce it, was also, for a while, a popular measure there. With respect to America, however, it was a perilous experiment, as the event showed. The minister, as if unaware of its magnitude, projected and carried into operation, cotemporaneously with it, other revenue measures, which exasperated the minds of the Colonists against English authority. Before bringing forward

his grand plan of taxation, he endeavoured to improve the state of the treasury, by enforcing the existing laws with greater rigor. Peremptory regulations were issued against smuggling, and for a vigorous execution of the navigation acts. These were extended to America and the West Indies, and they instantly roused the same excited feelings created by the celebrated controversy at Boston, in 1761, on the subject of writs of assistance. The acts laying duties on sugar and molasses, imported into the Colonies, had existed since 1733, in the reign of George II. The imposts, however, were so high as to amount, virtually, to a prohibition; and in consequence they had been evaded or openly violated, with little interference by the British authorities. The trade was, in fact, beneficial to all parties, except in the single item of the revenue collected. We have already seen the consequences of former attempts to repress it, in 1761, accompanied by applications to the colonial court for extraordinary writs, in the nature of general search warrants, which were met by the spirited opposition of the colony, and the bold denunciation of Otis and others. During the recess of parliament, in 1763, and the succeeding session, the Admiralty undertook to enforce the strict letter of the laws, and directed the commanders of the public vessels, stationed on the coast, to act as revenue officers—to arrest, search, and confiscate all vessels engaged in contraband commerce.

The most deplorable effects followed. The naval commanders, unaccustomed to the service, without definite instructions, and practically irresponsible, made seizures and confiscations of all vessels employed in trade with the West Indies: and in effect annihilated it. They made the strictest possible construction of the acts of navigation; and not only interrupted vexatiously and embarrassed all American trade, lawful and unlawful, with the French and Spanish islands and colonies, but nearly destroyed all intercourse with them. This intercourse had been extremely profitable, and the profits accrued to England no less than to America. Colonial produce and British manufactures were exchanged for gold and silver coin and bullion, cochineal, medicinal drugs, and live stock. The entire commercial business of the Colonies was thus threatened with sudden and disastrous confusion, and universal alarm and distress prevailed. Their internal currency was deranged by the stoppage of their supplies of the precious metals; their means of remittance for British

manufactures were diminished, and their debts to British merchants accumulated. These things were not submitted to without strong remonstrances and repeated appeals to the interest, no less than the justice, of Great Britain. Resolutions against the use of British manufactures became general, and a feeling of hostility to imported goods grew up rapidly. In the succeeding year, the amount of English merchandize imported into the single city of Boston, was diminished to the extent of ten thousand pounds sterling. A like decrease took place in other towns and provinces, affording a proof as well of the spirit of repugnance to the measures of the British government, as of the necessities of the Colonies, deprived of their customary business, and exhausted of their means of remittance. The session of 1764 produced a change, called for by the British merchants and manufacturers, by which a part of the traffic between the Colonies and the West Indies, that had been arbitrarily suppressed, was expressly authorized, but under such enormous duties, as made it impossible to be carried on to advantage. At the same time, the payment of the new duties was required to be made in specie, at the British Treasury. To aggravate this injustice, a bill was passed, nearly contemporaneously, suppressing the bills of credit that had formed the currency of the Colonies, and ordering them to be refused in payment for duties after a certain day. Penalties, incurred for breaches of these acts, were made recoverable in the courts of the particular colony, or any other admiralty court in the Colonies, at the option of the informer or prosecutor. By this tyrannical act, defendants might be carried, at the pleasure of the government agents, from one end of the continent to the other, to support their rights, and be deprived, according to the practice in the admiralty, of the benefits of a jury trial. Complaints and discontents of the Colonies against the general course of Great Britain towards them, constantly increased.

At the same time that these commercial regulations, following each other with rapidity in a few months, were exasperating the Colonies, Mr. Grenville, as first commissioner of the treasury, was revolving in his mind his scheme for raising revenue directly from America, by internal taxation. Looking, at this distance of time, upon his measures, they seem to have been destitute of common prudence and sagacity; or to have been devised in the insolence of power, for the purpose of crushing the Colonies at once. By a

harassing and oppressive exercise of constitutional powers, never denied to the British government, he kept them in a state of exasperation, and disposed to watch, with eager scrutiny, every movement of parliament which related to them. The molasses and sugar act, re-enacted in 1764, contained in its preamble the first formal enactment, ever adopted, to raise revenue by taxation from America. That enactment connected the whole series of commercial restrictions and oppressions with the novel and already contested question of taxation. All the motives for complaint and resentment against Britain were thus united together. A grave constitutional argument was added to the subjects of controversy, and all the elements of opposition, in all parts of the continent, brought, by the arrogance or unskilfulness of the minister, to bear together against him. To those abstract principles of liberty, which were cherished with such fervency among them, he had contrived, in a few months, to add all the provocations of anger and suffering—of passion and interest,—to quicken their impatient apprehensions of the new system of taxation he was about to impose upon them. The evils growing out of the treasury restrictions and the sugar act, were soon absorbed in the greater grievances and more dangerous consequences threatened by the stamp act, and the high-toned pretensions to absolute supremacy, set up by these various measures.

The stamp-act project had been avowed some time before the other measures, though it was not carried into effect until some time afterwards. American taxation was an essential part of Mr. Grenville's financial plans, for the session of parliament, beginning on the 15th of November, 1763. It is plain that he had at first his doubts of the constitutional question, or of the policy of pressing so strong an expedient at once. Instead of imposing these taxes as a regular method of raising revenue, he first gave notice of his intention, then introduced declaratory resolutions upon the expediency, afterwards inserted it in the preamble of a commercial act—the sugar act—and finally, after eighteen months of this hesitating policy, made the enactment, in the celebrated stamp act, in March, 1765, reciting the preamble of the sugar act as authority. This policy shows, at once, the consciousness of Mr. Grenville, that he was undertaking a task of importance and difficulty, and his determination to persevere. About the

close of the year 1763, he informed the Agents of the Colonies, in London, of his design of raising a revenue in America, and proposed to them to delay bringing forward any specific measure, in order to give the colonial legislatures the opportunity of proposing some plan acceptable to themselves. He ingeniously intimated, as a proof of his friendship to them, that by timely compliance with this hint, they might establish it as a precedent, that they should always be consulted on the subject of taxation. The proposition was artful, and had the alternative been accepted, would have obtained an explicit acknowledgment of the disputed right. He offered them no choice in the principle, but the right of taxation being assumed, he mentioned his preference for the stamps, leaving it to the Americans to select any other object for taxation, or mode of furnishing the sum required. It was promised, as an additional bait, that the sum raised should be expended in America—an indulgence which but little sagacity was necessary to perceive to be altogether illusory, since there could be no security, the taxing power once admitted, that future sums, raised in the same way, would not be disposed of at the pleasure of those who had the right to receive them; and because there was no limit to the sums that might be expended in America for British objects, against the will and adverse to the wishes and principles of the Americans. The sum required by Mr. Grenville was *one hundred thousand* pounds, to be used in part, in the payment of ten thousand troops, to be quartered in America. This feature of the plan, by no means aided in reconciling the Americans to it, the presence of the regular troops having been always a cause of contention; and the proposal to augment that force so largely in a time of peace, wearing the appearance of a design to over-awe them. History and the testimony of British writers has since given us a further insight into the designs of the ministry of that day, which were, unluckily for them, defeated by the prompt spirit of the colonies. A grand scheme is said to have been in agitation, for re-arranging the boundaries, and re-modeling the governments of the provinces; reducing them to nearly an equal size, and forming entirely new political institutions—to establish a standing force—increase the salaries of the governors and principal officers, and create new courts, officers, judges, &c., all to be appointed and paid by the crown, out of the proceeds of American taxation. An

American peerage is believed to have been part of this splendid scheme, well devised for perpetuating the power of a ministry, and enlarging the king's prerogative by the enormous mass of patronage which it offered. The first step was the power to tax, and the second, the raising of the troops, both of which met with resistance in the sturdy principles of America.

When Mr. Grenville's proposal, with these modifications, was made to the agents in London, it did not appear to them in the odious light in which it was received by their constituents at home. Some of them, in the first instance, waited upon the minister to return thanks for what seemed to them an indulgence. They transmitted it to their several legislatures, where it met with universal and indignant rejection; not one of them acceded to its principle, in any shape. Two offered to raise the proportion in the ancient way, and after the usage of their predecessors. In the mean time, friends of America in London, became active in labouring to avert the danger. Towards the close of the session, in March, 1764, the minister, in pursuance of his plan, as communicated to the agents, brought forward his budget of supplies for the year. The sugar bill was passed, avowing in the preamble, the expediency of levying taxes in America, for "defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America,"—and the fourteenth resolution of the committee of ways and means, recited, that towards defraying the same expenses, "it might be proper to charge certain STAMP DUTIES in the said colonies and plantations." This was brought in on the 10th of March, and the execution postponed to the next session, with the express view of giving the colonies an opportunity of offering the substitute suggested.

March, 1764.

The popular and legislative movements, addresses, and remonstrances, hereinafter described or quoted, will explain sufficiently the constitutional grounds assumed in the colonies, in opposition to this claim of power, and resistance to the acts in which it was afterwards contained. A few historical items may be acceptable, to show how tenaciously the same rights had been insisted upon by them in the earliest times when they were too weak to resist oppression, and only strong in sagacity and love of liberty.

The right of the British parliament to impose taxes for the regulation of trade, had never been altogether denied, though

the use of the power had frequently produced murmurs and irritation. The line of distinction between the two powers was sometimes so indistinct, as frequently to give occasions for doubt as to what was the leading object, and to unite apparently in the same enactments, revenue and regulation. Sometimes acts clearly commercial in their purport, were complained of heavily, as levying taxes, and therefore unconstitutional, because the Colonists were not represented in parliament. No act, avowedly for revenue, had been ever passed; and regulations, altogether legitimate, were rejected frequently because they were supposed to imply that right. Massachusetts was the boldest in this controversy, and for a long series of years refused obedience to the navigation acts of 1651 and 1660, which make the commercial code of Great Britain. Her tenacious refusal to conform to these acts, under the special requisition of king Charles II., and her persevering rejection of the king's collector, Randolph, through a series of years from 1677 to the revolution in 1688, form one of the noblest passages in her history. She instructed her agents to insist before the king, that "the acts of navigation were an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his majesty in that colony, they not being represented in parliament." The collector persisting, he was met with such fierce opposition, that he was recalled, at his own representation, "that he was in danger of being put to death, by virtue of an ancient law, as a subverter of the constitution." Some years subsequent, when James II. was making his boldest approaches towards unlimited power in Europe and America, and his governor, Andross, was making laws and levying taxes at his pleasure, supported by the tyrannical example of his master, the inhabitants of several towns in Massachusetts refused to levy rates or raise taxes: and the selectmen of Ipswich, in spite of threatenings of fine and imprisonment, both of which were inflicted upon them for their disobedience, voted that "it is against the privilege of English subjects to have money raised without their own consent in assembly or parliament." This tone never varied, down to the latest period of her colonial condition, in all circumstances and under all administrations. In 1761, about the time of the controversy about the writs of assistance, in Boston, Governor Bernard had undertaken to equip a vessel belonging to the colony, upon his own responsibility, for which he was

sharply reproved by the House of Assembly, in an address containing the following spirited passages.

"Justice to ourselves and our constituents oblige us to remonstrate against the method of making or increasing establishments, by the governor and council. It is, in effect, taking from the House their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes."

"No necessity can be sufficient to justify a House of Representatives in giving up such a privilege; for it would be of little consequence to the people, whether they were subject to George or Louis, the king of Great Britain or the French king, if both were arbitrary, as both would be, if both could levy taxes without parliament."

It is worthy of mention, as an evidence of the kind of paternal affection entertained by England towards her children in the Colonies, when her interests were crossed by them, that when Massachusetts refused to receive the royal collector, in 1661–2, it was determined by the king in council, that "no Mediterranean passes should be granted to New England, *to protect its vessels against the Turks*, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge in his majesty, and whether his custom-house officers are received as in other colonies."

The acquiescence of Massachusetts, even in the navigation acts, was thus never cordial or perfect. From the beginning she suspected the taxing power, which was concealed in them, and resolutely protested against it.

Other provinces were not less firm and strenuous in upholding the same privileges, in the most disheartening times. Virginia, in the seventeenth year of her settlement, adopted a set of laws, the oldest in colonial history, defining her rights and claiming the privilege of raising her own taxes by her own representation, as the birthright of Englishmen. Again, in 1651, when she surrendered to the fleet of Cromwell, one of the express stipulations in the articles of surrender was, that "Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs, and impositions whatsoever; and none shall be imposed on them, without consent of the general assembly; and neither forts nor castles be erected, or garrisons maintained without their own consent." Again, in 1676, she instructed her agents in England to maintain, as an admitted right belonging to all the Colonies, and an acknowledged historical fact, that "neither his majesty nor any of his ancestors or predecessors

had ever offered to impose any tax upon this plantation, without the consent of their subjects; nor upon any other plantation, however so much less deserving or considerable to his crown."

In 1663, Rhode Island formally claimed it as one of her chartered privileges, that no tax should be imposed upon the colony but by the general assembly.

In 1687 the revenue officer in South Carolina informed the Commissioners of the Customs, in England, that "he despaired of succeeding in enforcing the revenue acts, as the people denied the power of parliament to pass laws inconsistent with their charter."

In the session of 1691–2, New York passed her celebrated act of assembly, defining the right of representation, and numerous other rights and privileges, in the nature of a Declaration of Rights. It expressly enacted that no "aid, tax, or talliage, whatsoever," should be laid upon the inhabitants of the province, upon "any manner or pretence whatsoever," but "by the act and consent of the governor in council and representatives of the people in general assembly."

Connecticut, on numerous occasions, especially in her resolutions in 1754, dissenting from the Albany plan of Union, contended for the exclusive power of levying her own taxes by her representatives, as a privilege by charter, and as a natural right.

The original charter of Maryland vested expressly the whole taxing power in "the freemen of the province, or a majority of them,"—and a law enacted in 1650, declared that "no subsidies, aids, customs, taxes, or impositions shall be laid, assessed, levied, or imposed upon the freemen of this province, their merchandize, goods, or chattels, without the consent of the freemen thereof, or a majority of them in general assembly."

These are a few of the early assertions, by the Colonies, of the law, the practice under it, and the constitution, in virtue of which they claimed exemption from taxation, except in bodies wherein they were represented. Sometimes these assertions ascended to lofty vindications of natural rights, antecedent to all sanctions of human institution. No formal denial of them was ever made before the declaratory stamp resolutions and sugar act of 1764. Some of the laws and declarations which we have quoted, were annulled in England, but not upon the exclusive ground of their

repugnance in this respect to British rights. A general act of parliament was passed in 1696, annulling all acts, laws, and usages of "the plantations," "repugnant to any law of the kingdom." But contemporary with it, the right of taxing America was peremptorily denied; and we have the high authority of Lord Camden, in his speech, in April, 1766, in the British House of Lords, for the fact, that this doctrine was not then considered new, illegal, or derogatory to the rights of parliament. The colonial laws were annulled, not on a claim of unlimited supremacy, but because they were believed to interfere with commercial regulations. Sometimes, as remarked before, the two objects—revenue and taxation—were in fact combined in one; but in all cases, before 1764, the primary object, to which the other was a subordinate incident, was trade. Burke, in his speech on American taxation, in 1774, after an elaborate analysis of the acts of parliament, stated confidently, and he was sustained by Lords Chatham and Camden, in the assertion, that before 1764 "no act avowedly for the purpose of revenue, and with the ordinary title and recital, taken together, is to be found upon the statute book. All before stood on commercial regulations and restraints."

Sir Robert Walpole entertained a similar view of the science of government, and the interests of commerce, in the connexion between England and America, when he refused, in 1739, during the Spanish war, to try the experiment of taxing the Colonies. "I will leave that," said he, "to some one of my successors, who shall have more courage and less regard for commerce than I have. I have always, during my administration, thought it my duty to encourage the commerce of the American Colonies. I have chosen to wink at some irregularities in their traffic with Europe; for in my opinion, if by trade with foreign nations they gain £500,000 sterling, at the end of two years £250,000 of it will have entered the royal coffers; and that by the industry and productions of England, who sells them an immense quantity of manufactures. This is a mode of taxing them, more conformable to their constitution, and to our own." And Lord Chatham, in referring to the efforts to get up this taxing question, at an earlier day, when he was minister to George II., during the French wars, uses the following pithy expression:

"There were not wanting some, when I had the honour

to serve his majesty, to propose to me *to burn my fingers* with an American stamp-act."

The theory of political connexion with Great Britain, insisted on by the Colonies, as according with constitutional principles, was that they were integral governments, dependent upon a common executive head of the empire, the king of Great Britain, precisely as England itself; that their colonial legislatures held the same relation to the king as the English House of Commons, and were as absolute in all matters of revenue, within the provinces, as the Commons were for Great Britain. These rights were placed, first, on the general birthright of Englishmen, not to be taxed but by their representatives; and secondly, on their chartered rights which confirmed these privileges to them. A third, and in fact the most powerful defence of this right, and which was working in every man's mind, though few spoke it out until oppression drove them from all faith in charters and constitutions, was that which James Otis employed with such boldness in his celebrated pamphlet, on the rights of the Colonies, published in 1764, against the daring attempt at usurpation in the declaratory act preliminary to the stamp act; a defence which went back to the original rights of the settlers as men, independent of any grant from human power. "Two or three innocent colony charters," said he, "have been threatened with destruction a hundred and forty years past. A set of men in America, without honor or love to their country, have been long grasping at powers which they think unattainable, while these charters stand in their way. But they will meet with insurmountable obstacles to their project for enslaving the British Colonies, should these, arising from provincial charters, be removed. * * Should this ever be the case, there are, thank God, natural, inherent, and inseparable rights, as men and citizens, that would remain, after the so much wished-for catastrophe, and which, whatever become of charters, can never be abolished, *de jure*, if *de facto*, until the general conflagration." One of these "natural, inherent, and inseparable" rights, was that of disposing of their own property, and assenting, personally or by their representatives, to all taxes levied upon them. "If," said the New Jersey colonists, about the year 1687, to the Commissioners of the Duke of York, "we are excluded from one *English right of common assent to taxes*, what security have we for any thing we possess? We can call nothing our

own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for all our personal estates. This sort of conduct has destroyed governments, but never raised one to any true greatness." In theory, a general restraining power upon the Colonies was conceded to Great Britain, in all things except the subject of revenue. They contended that taxation was no part of the supreme executive or legislative power, but that taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the people by their representatives. Sometimes, indeed, as in the case of Massachusetts, in her controversy with queen Anne's governors, the assertion was hazarded, that all the laws of parliament were bounded by the four seas, and did not reach America. This assertion was not, however, steadily sustained, and the supremacy of parliament, in all cases except the granting of money and laying of taxes, was in general conceded. But in no case was the revenue power admitted.

The practice had also been invariably in accordance with this theory. All sums applied by the Colonies to their own political maintainance or the general service of the empire, had been voluntary grants, levied in the colonial assemblies. The king, through the governors, made his requisitions for money or troops, and the Colonies granted or withheld at pleasure. Their grants, however, were exceedingly liberal, so as to leave no ground of complaint with the ancient system. The change was not made because there was any reason to believe that the Colonies would be deficient in zeal or ability to vote sufficient supplies. Their contributions to the common cause of the empire, had been acknowledged by repeated acts of parliament, returning them thanks and voting them remuneration for the excess of their generous efforts. Mr. Burke, in his speech, before quoted, on American taxation, cited from the Journals of the House of Commons, thirteen different votes, acknowledging the merits of the Colonies in that particular—four of them within the year 1763, the very year in which the taxing scheme of Mr. Grenville was devised. It was, therefore, a naked assertion of power, without any pretence of necessity, and meant to establish a principle repugnant to the conscientious convictions of the Colonists, hostile to their rights, and destructive of their chartered privileges,—a principle which they affirmed would strip them of every privilege of freemen, and reduce them to the condition of a conquered and enslaved country.

The most specious argument on the side of Great Britain

was, that deprived of the taxing power, she would be destitute of all means of equalizing the burdens of all parts of the empire; and that while the United Kingdom was groaning under the weight of taxes and debts, no part of them would fall on the plantations abroad. They would thus enjoy all the benefits and protection of the British government, army, and navy, without contributing to their support, or to any portion of the immense expenditures incurred in wars, carried on jointly for common objects. This complaint opened a dangerous question for British supremacy, because it pointed out the advantages of independence to the Colonies, and provoked a discussion of the merits of the commercial monopoly, enjoyed by Great Britain. The people of the Colonies insisted, that a sufficient equivalent for all these British burdens, was found in the burden of taxation for British benefit, imposed upon them by the navigation acts, and acts relating to trade and manufactures. They contended that their exemption from direct taxation was more than counterbalanced by the immense sums exacted from them indirectly, by the operation of this commercial monopoly. They reasoned, in fine, just as Dr. Franklin, ten years before, foretold that they would, should the attempt ever be made to tax them for revenue. The passage is to be found in his letter to Governor Shirley, in 1754, discussing the merits of the substitute offered by the ministry to the Albany plan of Union, and it is worth transcribing as part of the history of the question, and as a summary, by this sagacious statesman and wary politician, of the effects of this system upon the Colonies: He said:

"Besides the taxes necessary for the defence of the frontiers, the Colonies pay yearly great sums to the mother country, unnoticed; for,

1. Taxes paid in Britain by the land holder or artificer, must enter into and increase the price of the produce of land and manufactures made of it, and a great part of this is paid by consumers in the Colonies, who thereby pay a considerable part of the British taxes.

2. We are restrained in our trade with foreign nations; and where we could be supplied with any manufacture cheaper from them, but must buy the same dearer from Britain, the difference of price is a clear tax to Britain.

3. We are obliged to carry a part of our produce directly to Great Britain; and when the duty laid upon it lessens its

price to the planter, or it sells for less than it would in foreign markets, the difference is a tax paid to Great Britain.

4. Some manufactures we could make, but are forbidden, and must take them of British merchants; the whole price is a tax paid to Britain.

5. By our greatly increasing demand and consumption of British manufactures, their price is considerably raised of late years; the advantage is a clear profit to Britain, and enables its people better to pay great taxes; and much of it being paid by us, is clear tax to Great Britain.

6. In short, as we are not suffered to regulate our trade, and restrain the importation and consumption of British superfluities, as Britain can the consumption of foreign superfluities, our whole wealth centres finally among the merchants and inhabitants of Great Britain; and if we make them richer, and enable them better to pay their taxes, it is nearly the same as being taxed ourselves, and equally beneficial to the crown.

"These kind of secondary taxes, however, we do not complain of, though we have no share in laying and disposing of them; but to pay immoderate heavy taxes, in the laying, appropriation, and disposition of which we have no part, and which, perhaps, we may know to be as unnecessary as grievous, must seem a hard measure to Englishmen, who cannot conceive that by hazarding their lives and fortunes in subduing and settling new countries, extending the dominion and increasing the commerce of the mother nation, they have forfeited the native rights of Britons, which they think ought to be given to them for such merits, if they had been before in a state of slavery."

"These things," said Franklin, in 1754, "and such kinds of things as these, I apprehend, will be thought and said if the proposed alteration of the Albany Plan takes place."

The event verified the sagacity of Franklin. The principles involved in the ministerial substitute, were, indeed, suspended for a while; but were revived and put into practice in these contemporaneous measures of the Grenville ministry: the stamp act resolutions—the molasses act, and the regulations of trade. All that he had foreseen—and his characteristic prudence did not permit him to express fully all he foresaw—was "said and done" in the Colonies, in opposition to these measures. They were received with loud indignation, vehement remonstrance, and instant denials of the right of parliament to tax the Colonies without their consent.

The news reached America soon after the adjournment of parliament. Instead of yielding to the artful suggestion of the minister, and proposing another mode of apportioning the taxes required, they fearlessly denied the whole claim of power. Boston, where the first intelligence was received,

May, 1764. | took the lead. At a town meeting, held in May, the people, in a set of instructions to their representatives in the colonial legislature, drawn up by Samuel Adams, directed them in energetic language, "to use constantly" their "power and influence to maintain the invaluable rights and privileges of the province, as well those which are derived by the royal charter," as those which, being prior to and independent of it, they hold "essentially as freeborn subjects of Great Britain." They affirm, in regard to the principle of these acts—"It annihilates our chartered right to govern and tax ourselves. It strikes at our British privileges, which, as we have never forfeited them, we hold in common with our fellow subjects, who are natives of Great Britain. If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects, to the miserable state of tributary slaves?" They proceeded to recommend communications with the other provinces, that "by the united application of all who are aggrieved, all may happily obtain redress."

The House of Representatives responded to these movements of the people with a temper of equal promptness and decision. They drew up a strong set of instructions to their agent in London, who had offended them by not opposing these acts,—for which neglect he had assigned as a reason, that he had not been directed by them, on the subject, and took their silence for assent. They reproved him sharply for the inference, and told him that "the silence of the province should have been imputed to any cause, even to despair, rather than have been construed into a tacit cession of their rights; or as an acknowledgment of a right in the British parliament to impose taxes and duties on a people not represented in the House of Commons." Their letter concluded with the declaration, "that the power to raise their

June. | own taxes is the great barrier to English liberty, which, if once broken down, all is lost." They further adopted resolves, that "the sole right of giving and granting the money of the people of this province, is vested

in them or their representatives,"—and that the imposition of duties or taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, upon a people not represented in the House of Commons, is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights." A committee was appointed to sit, during the recess of the House, to watch over the rights of the people.

The Assembly of Connecticut almost contemporaneously appointed a committee on the same subject, who, in connexion with Governor Fitch, drew up a powerful argument in favor of colonial rights.

The House of Burgesses, in Virginia, met in November, and was not less prompt in remonstrance. A special committee was appointed to report addresses to the king, and to both houses of parliament. These papers were drawn up by Richard Henry Lee, and adopted by the House of Burgesses. While they professed the warmest attachment to the king's government and person, they reproved, in firm language, the new doctrines of taxation, which had been introduced into the administration, and insisted upon their natural and chartered claim to be protected in their "ancient and inestimable right of being governed by such laws, respecting their internal polity and taxation, as are derived from their own consent, with the approbation of their sovereign or his substitute: a right which, as men, and descendants of Britons, they have ever quietly possessed, since first, by royal permission and encouragement, they left the mother kingdom to extend its commerce and dominion." This right, they asserted, they had been invested with from the first establishment of a regular government in the colony, and requisitions had been constantly made to them by their sovereigns, on all occasions when the assistance of the colony was thought necessary to preserve the British interest in America; "from whence they must conclude, they cannot now be deprived of a right they have so long enjoyed, and which they have never forfeited." In fine, they maintained it to be a fundamental principle of the British constitution, "without which freedom can nowhere exist," that the people are not subject to any taxes but such as are laid on them by their own consent, or by those who are legally appointed to represent them: property must become too precarious for the genius of a free people, which can be taken from them at the will of others, who cannot know what taxes such people can bear, or the easiest mode of raising them; and who are not under that restraint, which

is the greatest security against a burthensome taxation, when the representatives themselves must be affected by every tax imposed on the people."

The petitions and remonstrances of New York were remarkable for their ability and fearlessness. They were even more bold than those of Massachusetts and Virginia, and preceded the latter in point of time. After reciting the uninterrupted usage of the colony, in raising by its own representatives its own taxes, they insist that "an exemption from the burden of all ungranted and involuntary taxes, is the grand principle of every free state; without such a right vested in themselves, *exclusive of all others*, there can be no liberty, no happiness, no security,"—and this, they add, not upon any "privilege," but on a basis more honorable, solid, and stable:—"they challenge it and glory in it as their *right*." In conclusion they declare, they have no desire to derogate from the power of the parliament of Great Britain; "but they cannot avoid deprecating the loss of such rights as they have hitherto enjoyed: rights established in the first dawn of the constitution; founded upon the most substantial reasons, confirmed by invariable usage, conducive to the best ends; never abused to bad purposes, and with the loss of which, liberty, property, and all the benefits of life, tumble into insecurity and ruin: rights, the deprivation of which will dispirit the people, abate their industry, discourage trade, introduce discord, poverty, and slavery; or, by depopulating the Colonies, turn a vast, fertile, prosperous region into a dreary wilderness, impoverish Great Britain, and shake the power and independence of the most opulent and flourishing empire in the world."

Committees of Correspondence were also appointed to confer with the other assemblies or committees on the subject of "the impending dangers which threaten the Colonies, of being taxed by laws to be passed in Great Britain."

The Assembly of Pennsylvania referred the subject to a committee, who reported instructions to the provincial agent, in England, to join with the other colonies; and maintaining, in their own behalf, that the right of assessing their own taxes, and freedom from impositions, "not granted by the representatives of the people," were secured to them by the charter from Chales II. They did greater service to their common country by sending Dr. Franklin, in November, as their agent in England, to assist in repelling these dangerous innovations.

Most of the other colonies adopted some mode, by petition, remonstrance, or address, to make known to the British parliament, the like sentiments in opposition to the new scheme. The policy already mentioned, of forbearing to use, and declining to import, British merchandize, which was very generally adopted at this period, strengthened, materially, the party in Great Britain, already disposed, as well from their general whig principles, as from their opposition to the existing cabinet, to favor the cause of America. The manufacturing and commercial classes were seriously affected by the diminution of the American demand for their goods; and the effect was to create an interest adverse to perseverance in the ministerial plan. Attention was attracted to the constitutional question with greater earnestness; and in the session of parliament succeeding that in which these irritating measures had passed without opposition and with little notice, a party was found, small in numbers, indeed, but remarkable for splendor of talent and eloquence, to resist them, first, as unjust, ungrate ful, inexpedient, and dangerous; and finally, as tyrannical usurpations.

The session of parliament commenced, after an unusually long recess, on the 10th of January. During the winter the colonial agents had made strenuous efforts to dissuade Mr. Grenville from proceeding. A deputation, selected by them, waited upon him to remonstrate personally with him, and to assure him of the willingness of America to contribute to the debt and expenses of the empire, to the extent of their means, as they had always done upon royal requisitions, they reserving the constitutional privilege of granting the supplies, by their own votes, as in the case of the Commons of Great Britain. They urged the strong repugnance in America to the proposed tax, and desired a suspension of the design. These representations availed nothing with the minister. He declined receiving any proposal from the Colonies, short of an admission of the parliamentary right, and a substitute for the tax proposed, more agreeable to themselves, which none of them were authorized to make. He offered them the favor of being heard *by counsel*, on the constitutional question, at the bar of the House of Commons, which they unanimously declined; because, they said, the colonies were not defendants, amenable to that jurisdiction—they *protested* against it. The stamp act

1765.

accordingly took its course, and was formally introduced into the Commons by a report from the committee of ways and means, in a series of resolutions, *fifty-five* in number, which were agreed to by the House, on the 7th of February. Petitions against it were presented from the colonies of Virginia, South Carolina, and Connecticut. They were refused under a standing rule of the House, that no petition can be received against a money bill. The New York petition was expressed in such strong language, that no member of the House could be found to offer it. On the rejection of those from the three colonies named the other petitions were withdrawn. The bill accordingly passed by a large majority, about 250 to 50; was carried through the House of Lords, without difficulty, on the 8th of March, and received the king's sanction on the 22d.

The discussions in the Commons, though the numbers were disproportioned, was very animated. The ministerial speakers were Mr. Grenville, and Charles Townsend, a brilliant orator, just then in the prime of his faculties, and with a growing reputation. Mr. Pitt was absent, confined to his bed by sickness. The friends of the colonies were Col. Barrè, Alderman Beckford, Mr. Jackson, and Sir William Meredith. Col. Barrè and Alderman Beckford were the only speakers who denied the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies for revenue. The others relied on the danger, injustice, and inexpediency.

In the course of the debate, Mr. Townsend ended a long speech on the side of the minister, in the following words: "And now will these Americans, children *planted by our care*, *nourished by our indulgence*, till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and *protected by our arms*, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?"

Col. Barrè, a distinguished officer and member of parliament, fired with a generous indignation, caught up these words, and on the instant uttered that eloquent retort, which, with his other efforts in behalf of American liberty, has made his name dear to every American heart.

"*They planted by your care!*—No, your oppression planted them in America. They fled from a tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and among others to the cruelty of a savage foe the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most

formidable of any people upon the face of the earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends.

They nourished up by your indulgence!—They grew up by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and in another, who were, perhaps, the *deputies of deputies* to some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them.—Men whose behaviour on many occasions, has caused the blood of these sons of liberty to recoil within them.—Men who, promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.

They protected by your arms!—They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me, remember I this day told you so, that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still: but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows, I do not at this time speak from any motives of party heat; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated; but the subject is too delicate—I will say no more."

This gallant and vehement address produced a deep silence, and was left unanswered. It produced no change in the course of ministers, though the sensation it excited at the time was great; and it was long after remembered as a prophetic warning of the consequences of ministerial rashness.

The preamble of this celebrated act purports to be a continuation of the molasses act, and recites—that whereas, in the previous session of parliament, "duties had been de-

manded, continued, and appropriated towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America,"—and whereas, it is necessary "to raise a *further* revenue in America," therefore the "*Commons of Great Britain*," &c. do "give and grant" the enumerated stamp duties. The phraseology deserves notice, as containing in its very terms, an argument against the equity of the act. It is the Commons of Great Britain giving away the property of the Commons of America. This was strongly urged in an argument by Mr. Pitt, an extract from which, though it was not delivered until the next year, is introduced here, as a forcible comment on the title of this extraordinary act.

"This House represents the Commons of Great Britain. When in this House we give and grant, therefore, we give and grant what is our own, but *can we give and grant the property of the Commons of America?* It is an absurdity in terms. There is an idea in some, that the Colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know *by whom!* The idea of *virtual representation* is the *most contemptible* that ever entered into the head of man: it does not deserve a serious refutation. The Commons in America, represented in their several Assemblies, have invariably exercised this constitutional right of giving and granting their own money; they would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time the kingdom has ever professed the power of legislative and commercial control. The Colonies acknowledge your authority in all things, with the sole exception that you shall not take their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here would I draw the line—*quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*"

With the stamp act, and during the same session, the ministry, as if anticipating the necessity of supporting their pretensions to supremacy by force, passed another act for quartering troops in America, and requiring the inhabitants to furnish them with quarters and supplies. As a proof of the insolence of tyranny with which some of its provisions were originally conceived, it may be stated, that in the draught of the bill, a clause was inserted for quartering them in private houses. This was rejected in the course of its passage, but the fact remains as a powerful commentary upon the extremes of violence to which the British ministers were prepared to rush at once, before any proceedings were held

in America, to secure the subjection of the colonists to their exactions.

The night after the passage of the stamp act, Franklin wrote from London to his friend Charles Thompson, afterwards the Secretary of Congress—"The Sun of Liberty is set: the Americans must light up the lamps of industry and economy." The heroism of the revolution spoke in Mr. Thompson's pithy answer—"Be assured we shall light up torches of quite another sort."

The intelligence of the final passage of these acts, produced, as was anticipated, a great sensation throughout America. The gloomy apprehensions, which had prevailed so widely under the recent policy of Great Britain, in regard to the Colonies, was deepened into feelings approaching to desperation. They saw in it a vital attack upon their liberty and property, evidently in accordance with a system of hostility to the rights which they cherished most dearly, by a powerful but unnatural parent, against whom they knew no modes of defence, and entertained no hopes, even where they ventured upon such contemplations for the future, of being able to make any efficient resistance. Resentment, alarm, indignation and doubt, were at first universal. That it was impossible to submit quietly to such tyrannical pretensions—that, thenceforth, there was no security for any of their chartered privileges, or natural rights, was obvious to every capacity. The discussions of the preceding twelve months, in which the doctrine of British supremacy had been sharply discussed, in every form of argument, throughout the Colonies, had prepared the whole continent to understand the nature of the principles involved in it, and see all their tendencies. Few, however, were prepared for any precise line of conduct; few thought of any concerted movement of resistance; and force was, as yet, thought of by none.

On this occasion, as on that of the stamp resolutions, the course of the ministry in postponing the operation of their measures, favored the cause of the colonists. More than twelve months notice of the intention to raise an American revenue, had given them time to concentrate public opinion against the principle; and the deferring of the measure itself after its enactment, until the ensuing November, afforded them a like opportunity to recover from the first shock of the infliction; to unite public sentiment; and take measures in common for concerted action.

The House of Burgesses of Virginia was in session, when the intelligence was received from England. They had, in consequence, the distinguished honor of being the first public body to proclaim the rights of America against the despotic doctrines of the stamp act. To their bold attitude, and firm language, is undoubtedly due much of the consistency of action which marked the proceedings of the Colonies during the ensuing year; and they accordingly occupy a large space among the immediate events preceding the revolution. In estimating the value of these measures, and the reputation of the distinguished patriots who acted in them, the first place in honor is due to Patrick Henry, who moved, defended, and carried them, with an overpowering eloquence, of which tradition speaks in language of the loftiest enthusiasm. Mr. Jefferson bore his testimony to this fact, in the emphatic declaration, that "Henry gave the first impulse to the ball of the revolution."

His resolutions were offered near the close of the session, in the latter part of the month of May, without consultation with more than two members. After a vehement, and what Mr. Jefferson termed a 'bloody' debate, they were carried by a small majority. We transcribe them below, as they were found sealed up in the handwriting of Mr. Henry, by his executors. Other copies, varying from these, have been published, but they are believed to be the resolutions as afterwards revised and modified by the timid party in the House of Burgesses on the second day, after Mr. Henry had gone home. The original resolutions, as moved and carried, were these—the fifth of which, it may be noted, was that which, by its fearless denunciation of an act of parliament, formally passed with all the sanctions of law, most alarmed the irresolute, and the adherents to Britain.

1765, May 29.

"Resolved, That the first adventurers and settlers of this, his majesty's colony and dominion, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other of his majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this his majesty's said colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, that have been at any time held, enjoyed, and possessed, by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid, are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities, of denizens and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if

they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

"Resolved, That his majesty's liege people of this most ancient colony, have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own assembly in the article of their taxes and internal police, and the same hath never been forfeited, or any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the King and people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, therefore, That the general assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

Two other resolutions were offered by Mr. Henry, and rejected as of too audacious a character, in the then estimate of the Americans, to be admitted. They asserted that the people of the colony were "not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever," designed to impose taxation upon them, other than the laws and ordinances of the general assembly; and that any person who "by writing or speaking" should maintain the contrary, should be deemed "an enemy" to the colonies. Though these were disagreed to by the House of Burgesses, they were circulated in manuscript copies, and published in the papers of other colonies, as part of the resolutions adopted.

It was in the heat of the discussion in the House of Burgesses, while denouncing in unmeasured terms the tyranny of the British government, that Henry showed that celebrated example of presence of mind and promptitude in debate. Transported by the fervor of his zeal beyond the bounds of prudence, he exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third"—"Treason, treason," resounded from all parts of the house;—but, without pausing or quailing for a moment, he continued, "may profit by their example. If this be treason, make your most of it."

On the next day, in the absence of Henry, the vote was re-considered, and the *fifth* resolution rescinded—but the whole went abroad together to stimulate the spirits, and rally the resolution of the people, everywhere throughout America. Other legislatures followed the example. That of Massachusetts in particular, had moved with a kindred spirit, before they received intelligence of the Virginia resolutions, and had taken the further decisive step of proposing a consultation of all the colonies, in a congress of deputies, to meet in the ensuing October, a few weeks previous to the day appointed for the stamp act to go into operation. A circular letter was agreed upon, and addressed to the several speakers of

June 6th. | the legislatures of all the other colonies, and a committee to represent Massachusetts selected forthwith.

South Carolina was the first to assent to the measure. Commissioners were successively appointed from Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Each of these provinces passed resolutions, and gave instructions to their commissioners, avowing and insisting upon the same doctrines, which were afterwards incorporated in the proceedings of the illustrious stamp act congress. The assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina had been prorogued, and had, in consequence, no opportunity to act before the time of meeting. Georgia and New Hampshire declined sending agents, but gave assurances of their willingness to join in the proposed petitions and remonstrances. The New-York legislature had been prorogued; but the committee of correspondence, appointed the preceding year on the stamp act resolutions, assumed the responsibility of attending on behalf of the province—and their authority was confirmed by the next legislature. In Delaware, the assembly met before the regular period, and unanimously selected three of their own number to represent the colony.

While these proceedings were going on, under the sanction of the colonial legislatures, the popular feeling against the stamp act was continually growing more violent, and was manifested in their primary meetings in the strongest terms, and sometimes with disorderly acts. Town and county meetings were summoned in every colony; at which inflammatory speeches were made, and angry resolutions adopted. Committees of correspondence were established. Associations and clubs, for political discussion and mutual aid, were formed—and, in some cases, still more active means were

taken to manifest hostility to the act, and all that favored it; the authorities were insulted, and hanged and burnt in effigy: the persons and houses of the adherents to the act, molested: social relations with them, were in many places suspended totally, or in part; and in all directions every measure was taken to keep up and aggravate the popular discontent. The newspapers that at first had spoken cautiously and despondingly, took up by degrees a bolder tone, and became zealous, daring, and efficient; urging the strongest measures with most spirited language. Placards, handbills, pasquinades, and caricatures, abounded; and in a few months the effervescence was universal—pervading, with few exceptions, the whole continent. A few of the popular movements, selected from thousands with which the annals of those times abound, will serve to show the temper of the colonies. The instructions of the town of Plymouth to their representative in the general court, deserve, in an especial manner, to be recorded. Plymouth was the first landing-place of the pilgrim settlers of New England; and speaking almost from the very rock on which they first trod, when they brought the image of liberty from enslaved Europe to set it up for worship in the wilderness, their descendants, assembled in town meeting, thus addressed their agent, in a language of becoming dignity and lofty independence. "This place, sir, was at first the asylum of liberty, and we hope, will ever be preserved sacred to it, though it was then no more than a barren wilderness, inhabited only by savage men and beasts. To this place our fathers, (whose memories be revered,) possessed of the principles of liberty in their purity, and disdaining slavery, fled to enjoy those privileges, which they had an undoubted right to, but were deprived of by the hands of violence and oppression, in their native country. We, sir, their posterity, the freeholders, and other inhabitants of this town, legally assembled for that purpose; possessed of the same sentiments, and retaining the same ardor for liberty, think it our indispensable duty, on this occasion, to express to you these our sentiments of the stamp act, and its fatal consequences to this country, and to enjoin upon you, as you regard not only the welfare, but the very being of this people, that you, (consistent with our allegiance to the King, and relation to the government of Great Britain) disregarding all proposals for that purpose, exert all your power and influence in opposition to the stamp act, at least till we hear the success of

our petitions for relief. We likewise, to avoid disgracing the memories of our ancestors, as well as the reproaches of our own consciences, and the curses of posterity, recommend it to you, to obtain, if possible, in the honourable house of representatives of this Province, a full and explicit assertion of our rights, and to have the same entered on their public records, that all generations yet to come, may be convinced, that we have not only a just sense of our rights and liberties, but that we *never, with submission to Divine Providence, will be slaves to any power on earth.*"

The resolutions of the people of Providence, were in like tone of energy and determination. They adopted all the Virginia resolutions, except the last; for which they substituted the stronger declarations, that had been considered three months before, by the Virginia assembly, too bold for them to assent to. They pronounced the stamp act not only to be "unconstitutional, and to have a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American liberty," but that they "were not bound to yield to any law or ordinance, designed to impose any internal taxation whatsoever upon them, other than the laws and ordinances of the general assembly." The assembly adopted the whole of these popular resolutions, and added another still more energetic, directing all officers to proceed in the execution of their offices as usual, notwithstanding the stamp act; and pledging the assembly to "indemnify them, and keep them harmless," in such a course of conduct.

One instance of the acrimony to which hostility against the domestic favorers of Great Britain was carried, may be furnished as an example of the rest. Many such may be found in the records of the day. The people of Talbot county, in Maryland, resolved, in addition to a general expression of hatred to the stamp act, that they would "detest, abhor, and hold in contempt, all and every person and persons, who shall merely accept of any employment or office relating to the stamp act, or shall take any shelter or advantage of the same, and all and every stamp-pimp, informer, and encourager of the execution of the said act;" and would have "no communication with any such persons, unless it be to inform them of their vileness."

In some places the disaffection and excitement broke out into tumultuous violence. In August, several riots occurred in the town of Boston, in which much valuable property

was destroyed, notwithstanding the earnest efforts of the great body of the citizens to discountenance and repress them. The effigy of Oliver, the proposed distributer of stamps, was publicly gibbeted in the streets of the town, on an elm-tree, afterwards known as "Liberty Tree." His office was torn down, his house mobbed, and great injury done to his furniture. He was compelled to decline the appointment, and forced, some time after, to repeat the pledge publicly at the foot of the tree. The rabble, soon after, broke into and plundered the houses of the collector of the Customs, and Governor Hutchinson, the latter of which was destroyed, a large sum of money purloined or destroyed, and much costly property, and many valuable papers lost. The people met, and took energetic measures to detect the perpetrators of these outrages—offering large rewards for their apprehension.

Later in the same month, a Gazette extraordinary was published in the town of Providence, Rhode Island, with the motto, in large letters, "Vox Populi, Vox Dei"—and an inscription beneath,—"Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. *St. Paul.*" Riots followed—effigies of the stamp collectors, and those who favored Britain, were hung and burnt—and in Newport the house of one of them destroyed, in the popular fury. In New-York, the act was contemptuously cried about the streets, as "The folly of England, and the ruin of America." The house of Lieutenant Governor Colden was beset, his stable broken open, his carriage seized, an effigy put in it, and paraded through the streets—and the whole burnt together at the doors of the Government House. The stamp distributor resigned, and the stamp papers were seized and destroyed.

When the vessels carrying the stamp paper approached Philadelphia, the vessels in the harbor hoisted flags at half mast, and the bells were muffled and tolled, as for a public calamity. The people exacted a pledge from the stamp distributer, not to execute his office. The stamp distributor in Maryland, fled from the demands of the people to New-York, and thence to Long Island, but was followed up perseveringly, and forced to make his renunciation under oath before a magistrate. In Connecticut and New Hampshire, the stamp officers also resigned; and everywhere, except in South Carolina, the governors of the provinces were compelled to acquiesce in the necessity of the case, and for-

bore insisting upon the law. From Massachusetts to Georgia, the measures of the people thus determined and excited, made the enforcement of the stamp act totally impracticable, before it went legally into operation. A person high in office in New-York, wrote home to England in November of that year: "Depend upon it, they (the Americans) will suffer no man to execute any law to raise internal taxes, unimposed by their own assemblies. None of the distributors durst act; and that man's heart must be fortified with tenfold steel, who ventures to approve the doctrine, that parliament has a right to give away the estates of the colonists, without their consent."

In the midst of these excitements, which were still increasing in violence, the stamp act congress met at New-York on the second Tuesday in October. Nine colonies were represented by twenty-eight deputies. There were,—from *Massachuetts*, James Otis, Oliver Partridge, and Timothy Ruggles; from *Rhode Island*, Metcalf Bowler, and Henry Ward; from *Connecticut*, Eliphalet Dyer, David Rowland and William S. Johnson; from *New York*, Robert R. Livingston, John Cruger, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, and Leonard Lispenard; from *New Jersey*, Robert Ogden, Hendrick Fisher, and Joseph Berden; from *Pennsylvania*, John Dickinson, John Morton, and George Bryan; from *Delaware*, Thomas McKean, and Cæsar Rodney; from *Maryland*, William Murdock, Edward Tilghman, and Thomas Ringgold: and from *South Carolina*, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, and John Rutledge.

It was voted that each colony be entitled to *one voice*, in the determining of questions; and Mr. Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was chosen to preside.

On the 19th of October, the *declaration of rights and grievances* was agreed to. It consisted of fourteen articles; which re-affirmed, in substance, the doctrines previously contained in the resolutions of the colonial assembly, that the colonists were entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural born subjects; that it is inseparable from freedom, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, not to be taxed without their own consent, or that of their representatives—that the colonies were not, and could not, be represented in Great Britain, but were only represented in the colonial legislatures; which alone possessed the right, and had exercised it to that time exclusively, of raising money from them by internal

taxation; that trial by jury, is the "inherent and invaluable right" of every subject in the colonies—and that the stamp act, and other acts extending the jurisdiction of the admiralty courts beyond the ancient limits, had "a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists." This declaration was followed by three petitions, addressed severally to the king and the two houses of parliament. They were drawn up with singular ability and scholarship—and, considering the temper of the people, with great prudence and moderation, but with inflexible zeal for the rights of America. They were approved by all the members except Mr. Ruggles, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Ogden, of New Jersey. The delegates from Connecticut and South Carolina, were not authorized to sign them, being under instructions to report to their respective assemblies; and the New-York commissioners were entirely without powers. Six colonies, however, signed; and all the rest, whether represented or not, afterwards approved of their measures adopted. Congress completed its labors, and adjourned on 25th of October, one week before the day appointed for the stamp act to take effect.

When that fatal day arrived, so thoroughly had the popular work been perfected, that no stamp paper was to be found in America. It had been all destroyed, or re-shipped to England. There were no stamp distributors to be found, all having thrown up their appointments, or been coerced into declining to act. By the terms of the act, therefore, no lawful business could be transacted in America; and, for some time, all business was suspended. The courts were closed; marriages ceased; the publication of newspapers was suspended; no more clearances were taken out for vessels; transactions between commercial men stopped; all engagements and associations of trade were arrested; and all the social and mercantile affairs of a continent, stagnated at once. Such a remarkable state of things, could not exist long. By degrees, things resumed their usual course; newspapers were issued; licenses of all kinds granted; law and business papers, written on unstamped paper; and the whole machinery of society went on as before, without regard to the act of parliament. November, 1765.

The first of November was, nevertheless, kept as a day of mourning and humiliation. Shops were generally shut; the vessels dressed themselves with flags at half mast, as for the

death of public freedom; bells were muffled and tolled as for a funeral; and, in the evening, bonfires were made, and effigies hung and burnt, and placards distributed, warning the inhabitants against distributing or using stamped paper; and every thing done to manifest the determined hatred of the people against the act, its authors and advocates. In New Hampshire, these exhibitions of feeling were accompanied by a curious emblematic ceremony. The bells were tolled generally, as for the dead; and the people invited to attend the funeral of liberty. A coffin was prepared, with an inscription, "LIBERTY—AGED CXLV."; dating from the landing at Plymouth in 1620—minute guns were fired—and a solemn oration pronounced over the deceased. It was then announced, that signs of life remained; the coffin was raised; the inscription changed to "Liberty REVIVED;" and the bells rung a merry peal, as a token of triumphs to come.

About the same time, the association *of the Sons of Liberty*, which had existed for some months, assumed an extent and importance, which had vast influence on after events. It was originally composed of citizens of Connecticut and New-York; the latter of whom, on the 7th of November, held a meeting, at which it was determined to risk life and fortune to resist the stamp act, and to form a system of co-operation with the sons of liberty in other colonies. Notice was sent first to the Connecticut association; and articles of union between the sons of liberty in two provinces, were soon after agreed upon and signed. In these, after denouncing the stamp act, as a flagrant outrage on the British constitution, they most solemnly pledged themselves to march with their whole force, whenever required, at their own proper cost and expense, to the relief of all who should be in danger from the stamp act or its abettors—to be vigilant in watching for the introduction of stamped paper, to consider all who were caught in introducing it as betrayers of their country, and to bring them, if possible, to condign punishment, whatever may be their rank—to *defend the liberty of the press* in their respective colonies from all violations or impediments on account of the said act—to save all judges, attornies, clerks and others from fines, penalties, or any molestation whatever, who shall proceed in their respective duties without regard to the stamp act. And lastly, they pledged themselves to use their utmost endeavors to bring about a similar union with all the colonies on the continent.

In pursuance of this plan, circular letters were addressed to the *sons of liberty* in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and southwardly as far as South Carolina. Everywhere the scheme was received with enthusiasm; and, in a few weeks, a grand colonial alliance of voluntary defenders of liberty, was actively in operation throughout the continent.

A method of resistance, through the medium of associations, still more efficient because retaliatory, attacking the pecuniary interests of Great Britain, was adopted by the merchants of New-York, Boston, and Philadelphia. They entered into reciprocal engagements with each other, not only to order no more goods from Great Britain until the act was repealed, and to withdraw the orders already given, which should not be executed by the 1st of January, but not to receive on commission, nor permit the sale of English merchandize shipped after that date. This example was followed by similar combinations in other cities, towns, and counties—and the same principle extended itself to individuals and families, including many females. They denied themselves the use of all foreign luxuries—all imported articles of dress—forbade the killing of sheep, in order to secure a supply of wool—and became exclusively manufacturers, and consumers of domestic goods. Lawyers too, entered extensively into mutual compacts, to prevent the bringing of any suit for an inhabitant of England, against a colonist.

The whole face of affairs in America, thus changed from despondence and submission, to firmness, angry preparation, and resolute determination not to submit to the acts of parliament, levying taxes.

Accounts of these proceedings were regularly transmitted to England, where they were received with resentment and alarm. In the mean time, important changes had taken place in the ministry; brought about, in some degree, by the distress which began to be felt there, from the non-importation and non-consumption associations of the Americans, which contributed to the unpopularity of Mr. Grenville's administration. It was finally overthrown in July; and after an effort to bring Mr. Pitt into power, which failed, from his disagreement with Lord Temple, a new ministry was formed, at the head of which was placed the marquis of Rockingham, with the duke of Grafton, and General Conway, as Secretaries of State—the latter for the colonies. This appointment was very agreeable to the Americans, Col. Con-

way having been an ardent opponent to the whole train of measures against them, ending with the sugar and stamp acts. The new ministry, however, had a difficult part. They did not command the confidence of Mr. Pitt and the liberal party, at the head of which that statesman stood in the country; and were certain of the exasperated opposition of the high prerogative party, and the friends of the late ministry, to every proposal in favor of the Americans. On one side, they were met with intelligence of alarming disturbances and disaffection in America, bordering upon rebellion, and goaded into a vindication of the laws of the country—and, on the other, were assailed with loud complaints by the manufacturing and trading classes of England, of the ruin which threatened them from a perseverance in this policy. By the resolute refusal of the American merchants to take any more British merchandize, the largest market for it was suddenly lost; manufactures were at a stand; the chief sources of commerce were cut off; the laboring population were thrown, to a great extent, out of employment; the price of provisions was raised, and the currency deranged by the failure of the customary remittances from the colonies. In this posture of affairs, the ministry managed adroitly, until the ensuing session of parliament—sending soothing letters to the principal men in the colonies—and, without pledging themselves to any question of principle, undertaking, in general terms, to redress their grievances. Parliament met in December; and, early in the session, American affairs were brought before them for discussion and decision.

The American papers, relating to the origin, progress, and tendency, of the disturbances in the colonies, were laid before the House of Commons, on the 14th of January; and the 28th assigned for taking them into consideration. During the progress of the inquiry, Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the house, and his answers produced a great impression. To the question, "Do you think the Americans would submit to the stamp duty, if it was moderated?" he answered, "Never, unless compelled by force of arms." When asked, what was the temper of America towards Great Britain, before the year 1763? he replied, "The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown; and paid in their courts obedience to the acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing

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in forts, citadels, garrisons, and armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country, at the expense only of a little pen, ink, and paper—they were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain—for its laws, its customs and manners, and even for its fondness for its fashions, which greatly increased the commerce." It was asked of him, What is their temper now?—to which he answered frankly, "Very much altered." He gave it as his judgment of the opinion of the Americans, on the nature of the acts in question, that "every assembly on the continent, and every member in every assembly, concurred in denying the right."

The policy of the ministry was soon after settled. They resolved to pursue a middle course—to repeal the stamp act and at the same time assert the power;—to give up the tax on the ground of inexpediency and difficulty, but declare the absolute right of parliament to bind the colonies. This policy was introduced in the form of resolutions; the declaratory resolutions being first brought in, and the resolution to repeal following a few days after. Parties shifted on the debate. Mr. Grenville, and those who acted with him, supported the declaration, and resisted the repeal; and Pitt, Lord Camden, Col. Barrè, and their friends, sustained the repeal, and denyed vehemently the whole power in question. In the course of the debate, Mr. Grenville replying, with some severity, to a speech of Mr. Pitt, said, "The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house;" and concluded with charging the Americans with "breaking out, almost into open rebellion." Mr. Pitt's reply was noble, and is known almost by heart by every American. "Sir, (said he, addressing the speaker,) a charge is brought against gentlemen sitting in this house, for giving birth to sedition in America. The freedom with which they have spoken their sentiments against this *unhappy act*, is imputed to them as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty which I hope no gentleman will be afraid to exercise; it is a liberty, by which the gentleman who calumniates it, might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. We are told America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, *I rejoice that America has resisted;* three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I came not

here armed at all points with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dog's ears to defend the cause of liberty; * * * but for the defence of liberty upon a general, constitutional principle—it is a ground on which I dare meet any man. * * * The honorable gentleman boasts of his bounties to America. Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America—I maintain that parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. The honorable gentleman tells us, he understands not the difference between internal and external taxation; but surely there *is* a plain distinction, between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of commerce. 'When,' said the honorable gentleman, 'were the colonies emancipated?' At what time, say I in answer, were they made slaves? The Americans have been wronged—they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No: let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper; I will pledge myself for the colonies, that, on their part, animosity and resentment will cease." He concluded an impassioned speech, by expressing his deliberate judgment, that the stamp act ought "to be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately."

The declaratory act was finally carried in the House of Commons, by a vote of 275 to 167—and the repealing act by a vote of 250 to 122. Both went to the House of Lords; and, after vehement debate, were finally carried there, and received the royal assent on the 18th March. Lord Camden distinguished himself on the occasion, by the ardor of his zeal for American liberty.

The repeal of the stamp act, was placed upon the ground that its continuance would be detrimental to British commerce—and the declaratory act affirmed, that "Parliamen could bind the colonies *in all cases whatsoever;*" and that "votes and resolutions of assemblies in America, derogatory to the rights and power of the British Parliament, were null and void."

CHAPTER V.

THE repeal of the stamp act, produced great rejoicings in America. It was considered a virtual triumph over the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy, by the signal defeat of the measures in which it had been for the first time practically declared. The energy and determination of the colonies, had driven the British government from their chosen position—and this was just cause for congratulation. Accordingly, the repeal was celebrated with bonfires and illuminations. Massachusetts voted her thanks to the king, the duke of Grafton, and Mr. Pitt—and the house of burgesses of Virginia, passed a bill for erecting a statue to the king, and an obelisk to commemorate those who had been most active in behalf of America, in the British parliament. Other events, however, soon cooled this warmth of gratitude; and the succeeding house of burgesses postponed the project indefinitely.

The passage of the declaratory act, simultaneously with the repealing act, was a sufficient warning that Great Britain had only consented to a truce in her war against American rights. In the temper of the colonies, it must have been foreseen by them, that though they might very properly exult in the defeat of the measures of Great Britain, they could not cordially return to the same state of confidence and affection towards her, while the principle against which they had contended so strenuously as a tyrannical innovation, remained incorporated in her statutes by the same act which abandoned its enforcement for the time. The immediate danger of collision was passed; but it had so passed, as to leave materials for perpetual dissension, and the disposition to instant resistance, on any future attempt at internal taxation. The repeal itself was thus, by the declaratory act, made inoperative for permanent conciliation; and other immediate measures were calculated to weaken its effects yet further. The restrictions upon trade, and the treasury regulations, were still in force; the courts of admiralty still retained their extraordinary jurisdiction, so oppressive and unpopular among the people, especially on account of the suspension of jury trials; and the bills restraining the paper circulation of the colonies

were unrepealed. In addition to these latent sources of discord, the first acts of the royal authorities, in regard to the stamp act repeal, tended to revive one of those quarrels with the general assembly of Massachusetts, which had so powerful an influence on the colonial cause. The whole stamp act controversy, had sharpened the jealousy of the Americans against all British pretensions, and had enlightened the public mind by the ablest disquisitions in every branch of all the questions of constitutional, chartered, and original rights.

Secretary Conway's circular letter to the Governor, dated March 31st, expressed the disposition of the government to *forget* and *forgive* the "unjustifiable marks of undutiful disposition," which had been shown in the colonies; and recommended the colonial assemblies to make compensation to those who had suffered in New-York and Boston, during the disturbances of the preceding year.

In laying this communication before the assembly of Massachusetts, Governor Bernard arrogantly styled it a *requisition;* and told them, that the authority by which it was introduced, should "preclude all disputation about it." The stern independence of the assembly, met at once this attempt to impose the recommendations of the king, as obligatory upon them; and they returned him an answer to his speech, conceived in the very temper of the stamp act resistance. They delayed granting the compensation until December; and then only granted it on terms highly offensive to the government. A declaratory resolution accompanied the act of relief, protesting that it was done from a grateful regard to the king's recommendation, and from deference to the "opinion of the illustrious patrons of the colonies in Great Britain," without any interpretation of the recommendation into a '*requisition*,'—"with full persuasion that the sufferers had no just claim or demand on the province;" and that it should not be drawn into a precedent. The same act granted full "pardon, indemnity, and oblivion, to all offenders in the late times"—a proceeding which so displeased the ministry, that the whole act was disallowed. The compensation to the sufferers was, however, paid.

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New-York made provision for the same class of persons, but dissensions arose immediately both there, and in other colonies, especially Massachusetts, on the subject of furnishing supplies for the soldiery quartered among them. The demand was made upon them "*in pursuance of the act of par-*

liament," passed contemporaneously with the stamp act, for more necessaries than had been usual under former requisitions. The extent of the claim, and the form in which it was made, revived the taxing question. New-York refused, peremptorily, to comply with the act—and one of the consequences was, a bill passed in the next session, for suspending the legislative power of that assembly, until they should consent to carry the 'mutiny act,' as it was called, into effect.

Some time previous to that event, and in the summer of 1766, the Rockingham ministry had been dissolved, and a new cabinet brought in under Mr. Pitt, who was created Earl of Chatham. These changes took place in July. Lord Shelburne re-entered the administration as one of the Secretaries of State with Gen. Conway—and Charles Townshend, a man of brilliant and versatile genius, but capricious and unstable, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the Treasury, and Lord Camden was made Lord Chancellor. This is the chequered administration, afterwards so humorously described by Burke, in his review of the life and character of Chatham. The scheme of taxing America was, with some artful modifications, while Lord Chatham was confined by sickness in the country, revived under the influence of Mr. Townshend, who had been goaded in some degree into the experiment, by the taunts of the ex-minister Grenville. Previous to this final measure, the new ministry were called upon to meet the state of affairs in the colonies, arising from the opposition to the act for quartering soldiers. The assembly of New York were punished for their refusal to comply with the act, by the suspension of their legislative privileges; which arbitrary measure, while it reduced New York to submission, roused a general feeling of resentment and alarm throughout America. It was well described by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, as 'a flaming sword,' hung over the heads of the other colonies. July 2, 1767.

Another act, passed at the same time, was also regarded with similar dread and dislike. By it, a board of trade was established in the colonies, independent of colonial regulations, as a permanent body of administrators of the revenue, to administer such regulations as the king or council might make, as to American commerce. The sensitive jealousy of the people of Boston, saw in this new board, part of a system

of embarrassment to their trade, and hostility to their principles.

But the most important act, was that of Mr. Townshend, for imposing duties on glass, tea, paper, and painter's colors, imported from Great Britain into the colonies—which was passed with little opposition—to take effect on the 20th of November. Professing, in the body of the act, and the form of the exaction, to be a regulation of commerce, it declared in the preamble, that it was "expedient to raise a *revenue* in America, and to make a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of the civil government of the provinces, and for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing them." This included, palpably, some of the most odious designs with which the Grenville ministry had been charged—especially that of making a new civil list in the colonies, dependent upon ministerial patronage solely, and to be paid out of the proceeds of colonial taxation.

These three acts all passed towards the close of the session—and were approved by the king on the same day. Before their effect could be known, their author, Mr. Charles Townshend, died suddenly of a putrid fever, and was succeeded by Lord North. A new office was created of Secretary of State for the colonies; and Lord Hillsborough, who had performed the duties as first Lord of Trade and Plantations under Mr. Grenville's ministry, was appointed to the place. The earl of Chatham continued unable to attend to business, and some months afterwards resigned his office, in which he was succeeded by the Earl of Bristol.

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The excitement in America, on the receipt of the intelligence of these bills, was scarcely less than on the passage of the stamp act, two years before. The whole effect of the repeal of that ill-judged measure, in quieting the public feeling, was totally destroyed. The colonial assemblies promptly commenced another and equally spirited series of resolutions, memorials, remonstrances, petitions, and protests, against the powers set up, and the oppression practised. Sympathy for the persecuted state of the province of New York, overpowered any timid apprehensions of encountering the like arbitrary suspension of their functions; and they accordingly expressed a generous zeal for her violated rights.

The first popular measures, were the same that had been found so effective in the former contest. Resolutions against

the use and importation of British fabrics, commenced at Boston in October, and were concurred in, shortly afterwards, by New York and Philadelphia, and most of the principal towns engaged in commerce. The terms of the agreement, were to encourage the growth and consumption of domestic articles, and to discourage the introduction into the country of any thing whatever from Great Britain, not absolutely necessary. Early in the next session of the general court, the house of representatives of Massachusetts took the lead in protesting against all these measures, including the yet unrepealed and offensive sugar act, which had been lost sight of, in the victory over the stamp act. The subtle distinction, by which the new duties had been made to differ from the stamp duties, in being external taxes combining regulations of trade with revenue, instead of internal duties solely for revenue, was met and exposed boldly. 'It is the glory,' said they, 'of this constitution, that it hath its foundation in the law of God and nature. It is an essential natural right, that a man shall quietly enjoy, and have the sole disposal of his own property. This natural and constitutional right is so familiar to American subjects, that it would be difficult, if possible, to convince them, that any necessity can render it just, equitable, and reasonable, in the nature of things, that parliament should impose duties, subsidies, talliage, and taxes, *internal* or *external*, for the sole purpose of revenue.' They declared the act laying duty on tea, as well as the stamp act and the sugar act, to be, both in form and substance, as much *revenue* acts, as the land tax, customs, and excises of England. They warmly reprobated the act establishing a permanent commission of the customs of America, and stigmatized the suspension of the New York Legislature as an alarming act to the rest of the colonies—from which 'political death and annihilation' were to be apprehended.

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A circular was adopted to the other colonies, setting forth these views, and asking co-operation.

February.

Pennsylvania had nearly, contemporaneously, passed similar resolutions; and on the receipt of the circular of Massachusetts, it was entered upon their minutes with great unanimity. The house of burgesses, in Virginia, in particular, applauded the course of Massachusetts, and proclaimed the same principles and opinions in relation to all these acts, in language of determined boldness, as "replete with every

mischief, and utterly subversive of all that is dear and valuable."

In Great Britain, the circular, and other proceedings of Massachusetts, were received with alarm and resentment. They were viewed as preparatory to another congress, and a united opposition—and, in consequence, the earl of Hillsborough addressed a letter to Governor Bernard, directing him to 'require' of the house of representatives, in his majesty's name, to *rescind* the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter of the speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to, that *rash* and *hasty* proceeding." He was further directed, if the house refused, to dissolve them, and report to the king, that measures might be taken for the future, to prevent "a conduct of so extraordinary and unconstitutional a nature." A circular was addressed, at the same time, to the governors of the other colonies, instructing them to prevent the several assemblies from taking notice of the Massachusetts circular; or, if the assemblies proved refractory, to dissolve them.

Governor Bernard laid the directions of the minister before the house, at their meeting in June. Their spirit rose with the occasion; and they passed a nearly unanimous vote, *not* to rescind, as they had been ordered; and re-affirmed the same opinions in still more energetic language—adding, as another ground of complaint, the attempt to restrain their right of deliberation. They expressed their surprise, that they should be called upon to *rescind* a resolution of a former legislature—a resolution that had been executed, and consequently only existed, as a historical fact. But, they added, if by *rescinding*, the government required them to express their disapprobation of that resolution, "we have only to inform you, that we have voted not to rescind; and that on a division on the question, there were 92 nays and 17 yeas"—a piece of information, intended to reprove the letters he had written to England, charging the passage of the resolution to "unfair" practices. The governor dissolved them—but not before the same committee who had drawn up this reply, had drawn a petition to the king to recall the governor, which was adopted by the house. The ministerial circular to the other provinces, met a similar fate.

The assembly of Maryland, in reply to Governor Sharpe's message, told him, with firmness, that they would not be deterred from joining in constitutional measures for common

objects, with the legislatures of the other colonies. "We shall not be intimidated," say they, "by a *few sounding* expressions, from doing what we think to be right."

Other colonies adopted similar resolutions. Virginia, in her memorial, protested that she would not "consent to anti-constitutional powers;" and Georgia pronounced the Massachusetts resolutions complained of, to be not of a dangerous and factious tendency, as Lord Hillsborough had termed them—but, "on the contrary, tending to a justifiable union of subjects aggrieved, in lawful and laudable endeavors to obtain redress." New-York, in addition to language equally decided, appointed a committee of correspondence.

In the mean time, the excitement in the town of Boston against the new board of customs, had risen to a great height, and produced a violent conflict between them, in the latter part of May. At the requisition of Governor Bernard, who complained of the refractory spirit of the Bostonians, it had been determined to station a military force among them; and, for that purpose, General Gage was ordered to quarter a regiment of the regular troops, in that town. Before they arrived, however, the seizure of the sloop Liberty, belonging to John Hancock, for a violation of the odious revenue laws, had produced a great ferment in the town, and resulted in riotous proceedings; during which, the collector, comptroller, and inspector of the customs, were roughly handled by the populace, and their houses assaulted. They were finally compelled to take refuge, first on board of the Romney man-of-war, and then in Castle William. The dissatisfaction of the people was increased, by the impressment of American seamen, by officers of the Romney. The disturbances in the city, together with the attacks upon the revenue officers, were brought before the legislature—who expressed their disapprobation of the disorders, and directed prosecutions to be commenced against the persons principally concerned in it. At the same time they denounced the conduct of the revenue officers as haughty, tyrannical, and insulting.

The legislature being dissolved, the governor refused to convene another, without the express commands of the king. About the first of September, a rumor began to prevail of the expected arrival of troops, to compel the obedience of the town to the acts of parliament. The inhabitants immediately held a town meeting, and asked information of the

governor of the truth of this rumor. Receiving an evasive answer, they passed resolutions, at "the peril of their lives and fortune," to maintain their rights—and, affecting to anticipate a French war, voted that all the inhabitants should observe the law of the province, which required them to be provided "with a well-finished fire-lock, musket, accoutrements, and ammunition"—a significant sign of their resolution to be prepared for all extremities. On the refusal of the governor to summon a legislature, they voted to invite the rest of the towns to a convention, to be held in a few weeks afterwards, to consult upon measures "for his majesty's service, and the safety of the province." Ninety-six of the ninety-seven townships concurred, and the convention accordingly met on the 22d September. Their proceedings were marked by much moderation; and after a session of five days, they adjourned, having disclaimed any legislative authority—made professions of loyalty—adopted petitions and remonstrances, in which they complained of being grievously misrepresented to the king—and recommended forbearance, good order, and the preservation of the peace.

A few days after their adjournment, the troops disembarked with great parade. The fleet of men-of-war and frigates which brought them, drew up in warlike order; and two regiments, instead of one, were landed under cover of the guns, as if invading an enemy's country. The selectmen being applied to, to provide quarters for the soldiers, peremptorily refused—and Fanueil Hall was, by order of the governor, opened to them. This building also contained the courts and public offices. It was immediately put into the condition of a garrison. Two field-pieces were placed immediately in front. Guards were stationed at the door—soldiers were constantly marching and countermarching—and the sentries challenged the inhabitants as they passed. The sabbath, so religiously observed in Massachusetts, was profaned by drillings and parades, the marching of troops, and the sound of martial music. The resentment of the people was, for a while, checked in its manifestations, by this display of force, and by the want of their house of representatives, which had been dissolved, and could not legally meet, except on the summons of the governor, until the next May. But their indignation was only suppressed, not quelled. Bickerings and collisions between the soldiery and the populace occurred daily, to exas-

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perate the temper of the colonies more keenly against, not only these measures of the British government, but against British authority altogether. Out of this military occupation of the town of Boston, sprang some of the most exciting and dangerous collisions that preceded the revolution.

Before these proceedings were known in Great Britain, the Earl of Chatham, who had not, for a long time, been able to attend to business, had withdrawn from the ministry—and Lord Shelburne had given way to Lord Weymouth.

When parliament met in November, American affairs were immediately brought before them; and on the 15th of December, the house of lords passed a number of resolutions, censuring the conduct of the legislature and people of Massachusetts in the severest terms—approving the measures already taken by the ministry to suppress these attacks upon the authority of his majesty—and praying his majesty to direct the governor of Massachusetts, "to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information, touching all treasons or misprisions of treasons, committed within the government, *since the 30th day of December* 1767; and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of the Secretaries of State, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission, for inquiring of, hearing and determining, the said offences *within the realm of Great Britain,* pursuant to the provisions of the statute of the 35th of King Henry the 8th."

The house of commons concurred in these resolutions without opposition; and thus the three branches of the British government, solemnly approved of the whole train of measures pursued by the ministry at home, and the royal governors in the colonies, to enforce the taxing power against every resistance and remonstrance. Feb. 1769.

But, in the interim, the combinations in America against the importation of British merchandize, had produced the same effect in England as when they had been employed to defeat the stamp act. The trade, commerce, manufactures, navigation, and revenue of the kingdom, suffered materially; and the bad policy of irritating the Americans, had become obvious to the authors of the mischief. To retreat from the stand, taken in favor of the British claims, was neither practicable, had they been so disposed, consistent with the temper of parliament and the state of parties—nor did it accord

with their own feelings and doctrines. Few friends of America, on the constitutional point, were yet to be found; and most of those who opposed ministers, rested upon the inexpediency of exercising these powers at that time, and in such a mode. The cabinet accordingly pursued nearly the same policy as had been adopted, with such little success, in the repeal of the stamp act. Accompanying the resolutions, so hostile to the colony of Massachusetts for her zeal in the cause of America, and so subversive of the liberties of all Americans, by making them subject to transportation to England for trial upon the king's suit, was a circular letter, engaging to make certain concessions and alterations in the acts complained of; which, it was thought, would make them more acceptable. A repeal of all the taxes, except that on tea, was offered. That tax, notwithstanding its trifling amount, was to be retained, in the nature of a declaratory act; and, it was believed, that this union of rigor and concession, would vindicate the power of Great Britain, and secure the acquiescence of the colonies.

The expectation was totally disappointed. The conflicts of four years, against the principle of taxation, under such constantly reiterated assaults upon their liberties in other forms, had embittered the feelings of the colonists towards Great Britain, and imbued them with a thorough distrust of all the acts and policy of the British government. The conciliatory promise was altogether disregarded; and the provision for the trial of accused persons, under the act of Henry VIII. became a new subject for alarm, angry suspicion, remonstrance, and resentment.

The Massachusetts legislature was not in session; but the house of burgesses of Virginia, promptly led the way in denouncing the acts aimed against a sister colony, as an assault upon the common liberty. Early in May they re-asserted their sole and exclusive right to raise taxes; and declared that all trials for "treason, misprisions of treason, or for any felony or crime whatever, committed in the colony, ought to be before the courts of the colony;" and that "sending them beyond the seas" to be tried, is "highly derogatory to the rights of British subjects." The governor, Lord Botetourt informed of these proceedings, and highly incensed, appeared unexpectedly in the house, on the next day, and addressed them in these words: "Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the house of representatives, I have heard of your resolves,

and augur ill of their effects; you have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are accordingly dissolved." The members instantly met in an unofficial capacity; and choosing Peyton Randolph, the late speaker, moderator, entered into a written engagement not to import any of the taxed articles: and included in the prohibition other articles, the diminution of the consumption of which might affect the interests of Great Britain. Maryland, Delaware, and New-York, adopted similar resolutions; and the assembly of the last mentioned province ordered those of Virginia to be entered at large on the journals. Those of North Carolina were so strong, that Governor Tryon dissolved the assembly. South Carolina not only joined in these views, but openly disobeyed the act for quartering troops.

The non-importation agreements became general—it might almost be said universal. Those signed by the Virginia burgesses, were rapidly circulated; and signatures of a vast number of individuals, were speedily obtained. A non-importation confederacy was extended throughout the provinces, and committees organized for superintending and enforcing the execution of the compact. Georgia and Rhode Island, were the last to come into the league; and such was the temper with which their refusal was regarded, that some places of considerable magnitude—Charleston, in South Carolina, for example—discontinued all intercourse with them until they joined, Georgia in September, and Rhode Island in October.

While the other colonies were thus generously and firmly espousing the cause of American rights, vitally assailed in the oppressive measures put in force against Massachusetts, that undaunted commonwealth was gallantly waging a direct controversy with the royal governor, backed by a British fleet and army. When the general court met in May, their first measure was to demand from the governor the immediate removal of the land forces out of the city, and sea forces from the port, during the session of the assembly; for the reason, as they expressed it, that "an armament by sea and land, investing the metropolis, and a military guard, with cannon pointed at the door of the state house, are inconsistent with that dignity and freedom, with which they had a right to deliberate, consult, and determine." Upon his refusal, they peremptorily refused to proceed to business, until he adjourned them to Cambridge. Notwithstanding their repeated denials of his power to adjourn them to any place out

of Boston, they proceeded to discuss the subject of their rights; and, concurring in the Virginia resolutions, with respect to the transporting of Americans to Great Britain for trial, they added an energetic declaration, that the establishment of "a standing army in the colony in time of peace, without the consent of the general assembly, is an invasion of the natural rights of the people," as well as those which they claimed by "magna charta, the bill of rights, and the charter of the province."

Towards the close of the session, the governor made a requisition upon them, to provide funds for paying for the quartering of the troops. After repeated demands on his part, they passed some high-toned resolves; concluding with resolving, that they '*never*' would make any such provision as he asked for; as they could not do it consistently with their 'own honor,' or their 'duty to their constituents.' The gov-

July 12 | ernor accordingly prorogued them to the 10th of the next January; and on the 1st August, he sailed for Europe, having been ordered home by the ministry; and was succeeded in the government of the province by lieutenant governor Hutchinson.

October. | Shortly afterwards, the people of Boston, at a town meeting, took into consideration the circular letter of Lord Hillsborough, of which mention has been before made in this chapter, offering a repeal of all the duties in dispute, under the last revenue act, except the tea duty. They resolved that such a measure "would not be satisfactory; that it would not relieve trade from its burdens, much less remove the grounds of discontent, which prevailed throughout the continent, upon HIGHER PRINCIPLES." "In short," they continued, "the grievances which lie heavy upon us we shall never think redressed, till every act passed by the British parliament, for the express purpose of raising a revenue upon us without our consent, is repealed—till the American Board of Commissioners of the Customs is dissolved; the troops recalled; and things are restored to the state they were in before the late extraordinary measures of administration took place."

The letter of the merchants of Philadelphia, to their correspondents in London, dated 25th of November, 1769, describes most faithfully and strongly the temper of the times, and the points in dispute. Some extracts follow:

"We are very sensible that the prosperity of the colonies

depends upon their union and connexion with Great Britain. In this sentiment all the Americans concur; yet they cannot bring themselves to think, that for this reason they ought to be divested of liberty and property. Yet this must be the case, if the parliament can make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatever—can levy taxes upon them without their consent, dispose of the revenues thus raised without their consent, multiply officers at pleasure, and assign them fees to be paid without, nay contrary to and in direct violation of acts of assembly regularly passed by the colonies and approv ed by the crown; can enlarge the power of admiralty courts, divert the usual channels of justice, deprive the colonists of trials by jury of their own countrymen; in short, break down the barriers which their forefathers have erected against arbitrary power, and enforce their edicts by fleets and armies. To such a system of government the Americans cannot tamely submit; not from an impatience of subordination, a spirit of independence, or want of loyalty to their king; for in a quiet submission to just government, in zeal, affection, and attachment to their king, the people of the colonies dare to vie with any of the best of their fellow subjects; but from an innate love of liberty and the British constitution." * * *

"For this reason we think ourselves obliged to inform you, that though the merchants have confined their agreements to the repeal of the act laying a duty on tea, paper, glass, &c. yet nothing less than a repeal of all the revenue acts, and putting things on the same footing they were before the late innovations, can or will satisfy the minds of the people. The fleets and armies may overawe our towns; admiralty courts and boards of commissions, with their swarms of underlings, may, by a rigorous execution of severe unconstitutional acts, ruin our commerce, and render America of little use to the people of Britain; but while every farmer is a freeholder, the spirit of liberty will prevail; and every attempt to divest them of the privileges of freemen, must be attended with consequences injurious to the colonies and the mother country."

On the other hand, the British government were actuated by a most unwise policy in determining obstinately to adhere to the principle of taxation, and not to remove any of the other causes of discontent. Deceived by the representations of their agents and officers in America, they thought the disorders which had taken place, were the work of a few factious leaders; and that relief from the burden of taxation,

would quiet the great mass of the people, leaving the prominent agitators to be dealt with by the law.

Accordingly, on the meeting of parliament in January, this imbecile plan was carried into effect. The duke of Grafton, having resigned his office of first lord of the treasury, Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer, succeeded him, and became the head of the administration. Lord Chatham, who had unexpectedly recovered his health, in part, attended in the house of lords, and made several ineffectual efforts, in conjunction with the marquis of Rockingham, to have all the grievances of America taken into consideration, and redressed. He admitted the excesses that had been committed there: "but," said he, "such is my partiality to America, that I am disposed to make allowance even for these excesses. The discontents of three millions of people, deserve consideration: the foundation of those discontents ought to be removed." Lord North was obstinate; and a large majority of parliament sustained him. A partial measure of redress, totally inadequate to the claims of the colonies, was introduced on the 5th of March, the very day on which the Boston massacre took place in another hemisphere; and was adopted in April. The duties imposed by the act of 1767 were all taken off, except the insignificant duty on tea, left to maintain the doctrine of supremacy. Jan'y 1770.

No permanent effect favorable to the interests of Great Britain, was produced by this measure. Lord North, in supporting it, had declared, that to temporize with the right was to yield it; and that "a total repeal" could not be thought of, until America was "prostrate at the feet" of the British parliament. So the Americans estimated it very generally; and the retention of the tea duty, met with no less spirited opposition from the colonial legislatures, than the whole act had done before. The non-importation agreements were in part relinquished, chiefly from the defection of the province of New York; but the combination against the purchase and use of tea, was continued.

Before the knowledge of the repeal reached America, a riot of an alarming nature had occurred in the town of Boston; in which the soldiery had fired on and killed some of the citizens. On the 2d of March, a slight affray had taken place between some of the regular troops and some rope-makers, in which the soldiers were worsted. Party feeling was roused; and on the evening of the 5th, a crowd of citizens

attacked the city guard, and pelted them with stones and snow balls, till the word was given to "fire" in return; when eight pieces were discharged; three citizens were killed, and several severely wounded. The crowd immediately dispersed in all directions to raise the city; the bells were rung, alarm spread everywhere, drums beat, and the cry "to arms," was raised. The excitement soon brought an immense crowd together, who menaced the soldiers with destruction, and were with difficulty appeased by the promises of Governor Hutchinson, that justice should be done in the morning. They accordingly re-assembled under the lead of Samuel Adams and Royal Tyler, to the number of many thousands; and a long and angry conference was held with the governor. They insisted upon the instant removal of the troops from the town; and, for twenty hours, they bore with the prevarications and evasions of the governor, who denied his power over the military, and declined giving the order for removal, even when the commanding officer expressed his willingness to acquiesce in the wishes of the people. The stern resolution and persevering boldness of Samuel Adams, who warned the governor of the consequences of the refusal, and put them entirely upon his responsibility, succeeded in extorting the order without violence, and the troops were removed.

Captain Preston and his company were arrested, and tried for murder, by the colonial courts. It is one of the finest traits of revolutionary virtue, love of justice and order, and obedience to the law, that these soldiers, tried in the midst of a community so exasperated against the military in general, and provoked by daily insults and conflicts, were zealously and eloquently defended on universal principles of law and equity, by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two of the most eminent American patriots; and six of them acquitted by a conscientious, unprejudiced, and magnanimous jury. Two of the soldiers were convicted of *manslaughter*.

The Boston *massacre*, as it continues to be called, produced a great sensation throughout the colonies, and nearly produced similar riots with the military in other places. The slain were buried together, with much public solemnity; and annual orations were delivered, to commemorate the disastrous event.

Although it resulted in the acquittal of the chief persons accused, it served to aggravate the hostility of the

people towards the military; of which numerous proofs were given almost daily. Not long afterwards, Governor Hutchinson, who had taken no measures to relieve the alarm of the people in respect to the tragical affair, sent a special message to complain of some petty obstructions to the custom-house officers at Gloucester. The answer of the house was in the loftiest strain of indignant eloquence. "The instance," said they, "which your honor recommends to our attention, admitting it to be true, cannot be more threatening to government, than those enormities which have been known to be committed by the soldiery of late, and have strangely escaped punishment, though repeated in defiance of the laws and authority of government. A military force, posted among the people without their express consent, is itself one of the greatest grievances, and threatens the total subversion of a free constitution; much more, if designed to execute a system of corrupt and arbitrary power, and even to exterminate the liberties of the country. The bill of rights, passed immediately after the revolution of 1688, expressly declares, that the keeping of a standing army within the kingdom, in time of peace, without the consent of the parliament, is against law; and we take this occasion to say, that the keeping of a standing army within this province, in a time of peace, without the consent of the general assembly, is against law."

"Such a standing army must be designed to subjugate the people to arbitrary measures. It is a most violent infraction of their natural and constitutional rights. It is an UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY—of all others the most dangerous and alarming—and every instance of its restraining the liberty of any individual, is a crime which infinitely exceeds what the law intends by a riot. Surely, then, your honor cannot think that this house can descend to a consideration of matters comparatively trifling, while the capital of the province has so lately been in a state of actual imprisonment, and the government is under duress."

After tracing the disorders and dissensions to "unconstitutional acts," and the sentence of the laws under the terror of arms, they conclude:

"We yet entertain a hope, that the military power, so grievous to the people, will soon be removed from the province. Till then, we have nothing to expect, but that tyranny and confusion will prevail, in defiance of the laws of the land, and the just and constitutional authority of government."

These quotations are made more at large, because for the next two years the chief permanent sources of collision between the royal authorities and the colonists, arose from these military occupations, which the Americans insisted upon were tyrannical and unconstitutional. Out of them grew perpetual conflicts and quarrels between the citizens and the soldiery.

The Massachusetts assembly had a constant dispute with the governor, concerning their place of meeting—he having convened them at Cambridge—while they resolutely insisted upon their constitutional right to meet at Boston; and yielded only from the necessities of public business. No tax bill was passed during the year 1771; the governor having informed them that he had his majesty's command, "not to give his assent to any act subjecting the commissioners of the customs and other officers of the crown, to be taxed by the usual assessors, for the profits of their commissions—and that they must therefore so qualify their tax bill." The house in reply told him, "they knew of no commissioners of *his majesty's customs*, nor of any revenue *his majesty* had a right to establish in North America. We know and feel (said they,) a *tribute* levied and *extorted* from those, who, if they have property, have a right to the absolute disposal of it."

Throughout the colonies, the non-importation agreements were continued; and were the only measures of opposition to the British claims, employed during the year 1771. Angry complaints, increasing bitterness of feeling, and a more general sentiment of repugnance to Great Britain, were the chief results of the weak and tyrannical policy of Great Britain. In 1772, a new grievance was imposed upon the colony of Massachusetts, by a royal regulation, making provision for the support of the governor, independent of the colonial assembly; which the house of representatives, convened for the first time since their removal to Cambridge, at Boston, resolved to be an "infraction of the rights of the inhabitants, granted by the royal charter." This was considered so alarming a measure—so fraught with danger to the liberties of the people, by making their executive and judicial officers dependent entirely upon the crown, and beyond the reach of the people—that it led, under the active exertions of Samuel Adams, and Joseph Warren, to the formation of committees of correspondence,

Nov. 1772

in most of the towns of the colony—which plan formed the germ of that continental union of counsels, which carried the colonies forward together to the declaration of Independence.

The appointment of these committees, created a long and able controversy between the Governor and the House of Representatives; in which it was plainly to be seen, that the coercive measures of the British government, so far from breaking the spirit, or lessening the demands of the Americans, had only served to elevate both. The House of Representatives unhesitatingly concluded, that parliament had no claim to bind the colonies in any case whatsoever. "If," said they, "there have been any late instances of submission to acts of parliament, it has been, in our opinion, rather from inconsideration, or reluctance at the idea of contending with the parent state, than from a conviction or acknowledgment of the supreme legislative authority of parliament."

In June of that same year, the opposition of Rhode Island to the revenue acts was manifested in a daring manner. The British armed schooner Gaspee in pursuing a packet sloop that had refused to lower her colors as a salute, run aground. A party of the citizens of Providence, headed by John Brown, a wealthy merchant, boarded the schooner at night, and burnt her, with all her stores. The British government offered a reward of five hundred pounds sterling for the perpetrators, and appointed a commissioner to try them, but no evidence could be obtained. Another tyrannical act was the consequence. Burning the royal stores was made felony, for which the culprit could be tried in *any county in Great Britain.*

Active resistance and remonstrance for the years 1771 and 1772 were confined to New England, and chiefly to Massachusetts. The ill-omened presence of the troops quartered there, and the particular sufferings of a commercial people under the restrictions upon trade, threw them in advance of the other colonies during that time, in the great struggle of rights. The spring of 1773 was signalized by a union of interests and action in all the colonies by the establishment of standing committees of correspondence. The plan was formed, and proposed, nearly at the same time in Virginia and Massachusetts, by Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams. The resolutions of Virginia were introduced

March, 1773. | on the 12th of March, 1773, by Dabney Carr, a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses.

After reciting the prevalence of rumors of proceedings tending to deprive them of their "ancient, legal and constitutional rights;"—and reciting further, that the affairs of Virginia, were very frequently connected with those of Great Britain and the other colonies, rendering a "communication of sentiment" necessary to "remove the uneasiness and quiet the minds of the people," they appointed a committee of eleven to obtain intelligence of all proceedings in England relative to America, and maintain a communication with the other provinces concerning them: and particularly to inquire into the recent act constituting the court of inquiry in Rhode Island, with power to transport Americans to Great Britain for trial. These were accompanied by a proposition to the other colonies, to join in the same measure.

So nearly contemporaneous were the resolutions of Massachusetts that, in the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, the messengers who carried the intelligence crossed each other on the road. Thence forward the proceedings of the colonists assumed a consistency and uniformity of activity eminently favourable to success, and highly instrumental in producing the revolution. Occasions were not wanting for calling these committees into immediate duty. The first subject after the organization was a contested question between the assembly of Massachusetts and the governor, concerning the salaries of the judges—he refusing to approve a grant they had made for that purpose, on the allegation that the king had taken the support of the colonial judiciary into his own hands. The assembly remonstrated, and four of the judges disclaimed the governor's views; the fifth, however, adhered, and they voted to impeach him, which the governor refused to sanction, and the impeachment accordingly failed—but the controversy formed an agitating subject of discussion throughout the country. The attempt to make the judges dependent upon the ministry was considered a violent assault upon the liberties of the colony.

But another circumstance occurred shortly after, which carried the hostility of the people of Massachusetts against the governor, to a height of greater exasperation. This was the publication of certain private letters, written by him and lieutenant-governor Oliver, to England, during the years 1768 and 1769, on the subject of American affairs. They recommended violent measures to reduce the colonies, especially Massachusetts, to subjection, and represented the

views and characters of the patriots in the blackest colors Their advice seems to have been powerful in England; and many of the measures adopted there, hostile to the colonies, were in accordance with their suggestions. They went even farther than the ministry had yet gone, in urging alterations or suspensions of the charters—the institution of a privileged order of nobility—the enactment of severe penal laws, and the execution of some of the "principal incendiaries." These letters were obtained in England by Dr. Franklin, and confidentially transmitted to some of his friends at Boston for their information. They were of so alarming a tenor that

June 2d, 1773. | they were brought before the House of Representatives, sitting with closed doors, by Samuel Adams, and afterwards ordered, by them, to be published in self-defence. When they were read in secret session, the House unanimously voted that their tendency was "to overthrow the constitution of this government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province." They next adopted a petition to the king, "to remove the governor Hutchinson, and the lieutenant-governor Oliver *for ever* from the government of the province." In favor of this petition, there were eighty-two out of ninety-four voices.

Dr. Franklin was instructed to present this petition to Lord Dartmouth, who had succeeded Lord Hillsborough as secretary to the colonies, in the autumn of the preceding year. By him it was laid before the king in council, where Dr. Franklin was summoned to support it. It was on that occasion that Mr. Wedderburn—afterwards Lord Loughborough—as counsel in opposition to the petition, poured out that memorable volley of insult and vituperation, upon Dr. Franklin, as the alledged author of the disturbances in America. The philosophic patience with which this was borne by the venerable Franklin, is reported to have given way in but one significant whisper to the attorney general, "I will make your master a little king for this."

The petition was dismissed, and the odious officers left in command of the discontented province.

At this critical juncture, the British ministry, with the aid of the East India Company, undertook to effect, by policy, what had in the stamp act, and other acts of that nature, been previously attempted by open measures, accompanied by coercion. The TEA duty had been reserved as a mere assertion of supremacy—being too trifling in amount to be

regarded for the sake of revenue. The Americans had, nowever, by their non-importation agreements, effectually resisted its collection for several years. It was now contrived, by concert between the British government and the Directory of the East India Company, that *tea* should be introduced into America, at very low prices, by a relaxation of the duties in England, still retaining the duty on importation into America. A naked question of principle, on taxation, was thus presented—and it remained to be seen, whether the colonies would, without the allegation of oppressive taxation, encounter the whole force of the mother country. It was an insidious plan; but the virtue and energy of the Americans foiled it most signally. Three pence a pound upon tea, accompanied with drawbacks of duty at the place of exportation more than compensating for the tax, was in itself insignificant as a burden; but the principle of tyranny was strong in it, and resistance was as instantaneous and unyielding, as though it had been an act of confiscation.

The non-importation agreements, so faithfully observed, had deprived the East India Company of an extensive market for their tea. The exports from Great-Britain had diminished, until it was computed that at least *seventeen millions* of pounds of tea had accumulated in the company's warehouses. Anxious to reduce this quantity, and secure some portion of their commercial profits, the company at first urged the repeal of the tea duty, levied in America. This being refused, a compromise was agreed upon, by which they were authorized to export their tea from England duty free, paying the tax in the colonies; by which means the price would have been lower in America than on the repeal of the American duty, without the drawback at home. Vast quantities were accordingly freighted to America, and agents appointed to dispose of it, on the faith that no obstruction would be offered. The shipments were principally to New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Boston.

There was not, however, a moment's hesitation in America, on the question. The first tidings of the scheme produced a universal determination to defeat it. The committees of correspondence became active, and mutual pledges were soon obtained from every port, that the tea should not be landed. These were easily redeemed in Philadelphia and New York, at which places the consignees were intimidated, and the sale of the tea prevented, or the ships com-

pelled to return without breaking bulk—"and they sailed up the Thames," in the language of John Adams, "to proclaim to all the nation that New York and Pennsylvania would not be enslaved." In Charleston it was landed, indeed, but the agents were not permitted to offer it for sale, and it was in consequence stored in cellars, where it finally perished. In Boston, however, the inveterate obstinacy of Governor Hutchinson, and of the board of customs under his direction, prevented so peaceable a termination of the affair. The courage of the town-people was more than equal to his obstinacy; and town-meeting after town meeting was held to reiterate their firm resolution that the tea should not be landed, nor duty paid, and that they would maintain this position at the "risk of life and property." Still the authorities refused to give clearances, and Admiral Montague, who commanded on the station, was directed to prevent all vessels, except coasters, from passing out, without a written permit from the governor. Night after night the Bostonians kept guard upon the wharves, to obstruct any attempt to land privately; and in this state of excitement the controversy continued till the middle of December. The

Dec. 1773. | patriot leaders, the Adamses, Otis and Quincy, and the rest, were indefatigable in stimulating the people to perseverance, and finally urged the daring feat of destroying the tea. On the 19th of that month, all things were prepared, and a messenger was despatched to the governor for his final reply. During his absence, Josiah Quincy warned them of the consequences of the contemplated act, while he roused their courage in the following nervous style:—

"It is not," said he, "Mr. Moderator, the spirit that vapours within these walls that must stand us in stead. The exertions of this day will call forth events, which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes, that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of the day, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge, which actuate our enemies, public and private, abroad and in our bosom, to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest—the sharpest conflicts—to flatter ourselves

that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapour, will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue. Let us look to the end. Let us weigh and consider, before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw."

Their actions answered promptly this spirit-stirring appeal. When it was announced that the governor had refused the pass, they dissolved the meeting, and shortly afterwards, several parties of men, some of them disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships, in the presence of thousands of spectators who lined the wharves, broke open the chests of tea, and emptied their contents into the bay. They then dispersed, peaceably, to their homes.

The destruction of the tea, formed a new and momentous crisis in the relations between America and Great Britain. It was the first open exercise of popular force against the authority of acts of parliament; a bold step towards resistance by force of arms to the British claims of supremacy. The timid were struck with dismay at the effects they anticipated, and few knew how to look steadily upon the future. Independence did not, as yet, form any consistent part of the designs, even of the leading patriots, and with the vast majority the return to a peaceful enjoyment of their rights under the British constitution, as they construed it to apply to America, was the most of their hopes. Not to submit to anything less, was the general determination; and the ardor of the mass, and the confident zeal of heroic leaders, hurried the whole people onward to joint resolution, common objects, and finally to one single aim—that of complete emancipation from unrelenting tyranny. The events which followed in rapid succession, soon left no alternative, but unyielding resistance or unlimited submission.

CHAPTER VI.

PARLIAMENT met in January, but American affairs were not mentioned in the King's speech at the opening of the session.

March 7, 1774. A special message was laid before both Houses in March, informing them "of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of the kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences, immediately subversive of its constitution." In presenting these papers, the minister spoke vehemently of inflicting "punishment" on this "daring and criminal conduct," and vindicating the "dignity of the crown;"—threats which were re-echoed by the addresses of both Houses. The measures which followed, showed the vindictive temper of parliament, and their determination to remove every obstruction of law, constitutions, charters, natural and vested rights, and common equity, in order to punish the audacity of the Bostonians, and the offending colony.

Three bills were introduced, and carried with little show of opposition—almost by acclamation.

The First—known in history as the *Boston Port Bill*, provided—"for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of customs from Boston, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize, at Boston, or within the harbour thereof," after the ensuing first June;—to continue during his Majesty's pleasure. It also levied a fine, for the indemnification of the East India Company, and all others who had been injured in the "late riots." The board of customs was removed to the town of Salem.

The Second—subverted the whole constitution and charter of the province, that all power out of the hands of the people, to vest it absolutely in the crown—deprived the lower house of their agency in the selection of counsellors, and of the privilege of appointing sheriffs, judges, and magistrates, both which it gave to the governor; and further suppressed all town-meetings, not sanctioned by his permission.

The Third Bill—"for the impartial administration of jus-

tice, in Massachusetts Bay;" authorized the removal to England, for trial, of any person indicted for murder, in the colonies, on the allegation that the act was committed in aiding the civil authorities in the execution of the laws; a provision designed for the protection of soldiers, whom it might be found necessary to employ in shooting the Americans.

Protests against these acts were entered on the journals of the House of Lords by eleven peers, as dangerous, unjust, and unconstitutional. The Earl of Chatham was unable to attend the House until they had been passed, but took occasion to raise a warning voice against them, on a subsequent agitation of the matter.

"I condemn," said he, "in the severest manner, the turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans, in some instances, particularly in the late riots at Boston; but, my lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty, is so diametrically opposite to every principle of sound policy, as to excite my utmost astonishment. You have involved the guilty and the innocent in one common punishment, and avenge the crime of a few lawless depredators upon the whole body of the inhabitants."

"My lords, it has always been my fixed and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it with me to the grave, that this country had no right under heaven, to tax America. It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy: it is contrary to that essential, unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the British Constitution as a fundamental law, that what a man has honestly acquired is absolutely his own, which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken away from him, without his consent. Pass, then, my lords, instead of these harsh and severe edicts, an amnesty over their errors: by measures of lenity and affection allure them to their duty; act the part of a generous and forgiving parent. A period may arrive, when this parent may stand in need of every assistance she can receive from a grateful and affectionate offspring."

Colonel Barrè failed not to enforce the same views, but in vain. The ministry were doomed to slight every counsel in which safety for British interests could have been found.

The Port Bill passed in March, the other bills in May; and in the latter month, General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the royal forces in North America, arrived in Bos-

ton, with a commission to supersede Mr. Hutchinson as governor of the province. He was received personally with courtesy, by the people; but the measures he was appointed to enforce, were met by unflinching opposition. A meeting was instantly held, to consider the Port Bill, then the only one received, at which it was

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this town, that if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from and exportation to Great Britain, and every part of the West Indies, till the act be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act, exceed all our powers of expression. We therefore leave it to the just censure of others, and *appeal* to God and the world."

Virginia again nobly came to the succor of Massachusetts in her adversity. The house of burgesses appointed the 1st of June, the day on which the Port Bill was to go into effect, as a day of "fasting, humiliation, and prayer," in consideration of the "hostile invasion of the city of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts"—"devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruc-
May 27. | tion to our civil rights, and the evils of civil war; to give us *one heart and one mind*, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights."

Governor Dunmore resenting this proceeding, dissolved the assembly, who instantly reassembled to the number of eighty-nine, and formed themselves into a non-importing association, including in their agreements, one not to use any East India productions whatever except spices and salt-petre, until the wrongs of America were redressed. The Port Bill they pronounced a "most dangerous attempt to destroy the liberty and rights of all North America." They concluded with proposing a "general Congress" of the colonies, "to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may, from time to time, require."

The Massachusetts assembly, which met by adjournment at Salem, on the 7th of June, voted to send deputies to a general Congress, at Philadelphia, on the first Monday of September; and by degrees, the same measure was adopted in every colony except Georgia. When Governor Gage learned what the House of Representatives were doing on this occasion,

he sent to dissolve them; but they, with equal alertness, being informed of his design, closed their doors. Samuel Adams secured the key; and they finished their proceedings, while the proclamation of dissolution was read upon the stairs. Every where in assenting to these movements, the liveliest sympathy was expressed for the dangers and distresses of the devoted people of Boston, and the suffering colony of Massachusetts. Pennsylvania, in addition, resolved 'to break off all commercial intercourse whatever with every town, city, colony, or individual,' which should fail to go thoroughly with the cause of liberty. The several assemblies and conventions of the colonies were instructed by popular meetings, and in every form by which the public will could be expressed, to go to the last extremity in support of Massachusetts.

The day on which the Port Bill was appointed to go into operation was observed, generally, according to the recommendation of Virginia, as a day of fasting and prayer. Business was arrested, houses were closed, and a deep sorrow manifested everywhere, for the sufferings of the patriotic Bostonians, and the threatened subversion of colonial liberties. The character of that atrocious bill cannot be more briefly described than it was by Josiah Quincy, in his celebrated essay. We copy the passage as one illustrating the common estimation of the act which pervaded the resolutions and addresses with which the whole continent abounded.

"The Boston Port Bill, condemns a whole town unheard, nay, uncited to answer; involves thousands in ruin and misery, without the suggestion of any crime by them committed; and it is so constituted, that enormous pains and penalties must ensue, notwithstanding the most perfect obedience to its injunction. The destruction of the tea, which took place without any illegal procedure of the town, is the only alleged ground, consigning thousands of its inhabitants to ruin, misery, and despair. Those charged with the most aggravated crimes, are not punishable till arraigned before disinterested judges; heard in their own defence, and found guilty of the charge. But here a whole people are accused, prosecuted by, they know not whom; tried, they know not where; proved guilty, they know not how; and sentenced to suffer inevitable ruin. Their hard fate cannot be avoided by the most servile submission, the most implicit obedience to the statute. The first intimation of it was on

the 10th of May, and it took place on the 1st of June; thence to continue in full force, till it shall sufficiently appear to his majesty, that full satisfaction has been made, &c. So short a space is given for staying the torrent of threatened evils, that the subject, although exerting his utmost energy, must be overwhelmed, and driven to madness, by terms of deliverance, which deny relief till his ruin is inevitable."

This description of the effects upon the city thus inhumanly condemned to ruin, was not exaggerated. The deepest distress pervaded all classes. Capital could no longer be used, and labor had no more employment. The common necessaries of life were hardly within the reach of the opulent, and the poor became suddenly destitute almost of food. Animated by the spirit of liberty, they, however, bore these inflictions with inflexible constancy. Contributions for their relief soon poured in from all parts. Corporate bodies, town-meetings, popular assemblages, individual charity and sympathy sent them aid, encouragement, and applause. The inhabitants of Marblehead tendered the Boston merchants the use of their harbor, wharves, warehouses, and their own personal attendance, free of charge; and the people of Salem, whither it had been thought that the course of trade would turn, magnanimously refused to accept the boon, and concluded a generous remonstrance, with the protestation,—"We must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbours."

The evils of the Port Bill extended themselves throughout the colony, spreading general distress upon a large and populous province, in punishment of an untried offence, which amounted, in the worst sense, to an act of trespass against the property of the East India Company, by some unknown offenders.

One great benefit to the general cause, however, sprung out of it, which counterbalanced the partial evils, intense as they were in their effects. The feelings of all America were aroused to a pitch of uncontrollable resentment, and they perceived the futility of expecting any relenting in the course of British oppression, unless extorted by the united resistance of the colonies.

Just after the dissolution of the Massachusetts Assembly, the two additional acts, for "the better regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay," and for the "impartial

administration of justice;" reached America, and added new fuel to the flame of discontent. Additional force arrived, and was quartered in the town; and Governor Gage proceeded, against the remonstrances and protests of the people and authorities of the town, to fortify *Boston Neck*, the only entrance into the city, since the suspension of all access by water, under the infamous Port act.

On the 5th of September, the first Congress of the united colonies met at Philadelphia. A more august assemblage in the weight of character of the members, the exciting causes, and momentous questions which brought them together, the subsequent distinction acquired by the leading men who composed it,—a distinction unsurpassed by that of any other names in history,—and in the vast consequences to America and to the world, which flowed from their wisdom, virtue, and courage, never met before or since, in any country or nation. Thirteen colonies were represented. Their names, and those of their delegates, follow: Sept. 1774.

Massachusetts—Thomas Cushing, James Bowdoin, Robert Treat Paine, Samuel Adams, and John Adams.

New Hampshire—John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Folsom.

Connecticut—Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane.

Rhode Island—Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward.

New York—Isaac Low, John Alsop, John Jay, James Duane, William Floyd, Henry Weisner, and Samuel Bocrum.

Pennsylvania—John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Joseph Galloway, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle, John Morton, and George Ross.

New Jersey—James Kinsey, William Livingston, Stephen Crane, and Richard Smith.

Delaware—Cæsar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, and George Read.

Maryland—Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, William Paca, and Samuel Chase.

Virginia—Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edward Pendleton.

North Carolina—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and R. Caswell.

South Carolina—Henry Middleton, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, and Edward Rutledge.

The Congress organized themselves by the appointment of

Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, as President, and Charles Thompson, of Pennsylvania, Secretary. The leading orators were Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and John Adams, of Massachusetts. The business was opened by Patrick Henry, who had already acquired a reputation co-extensive with the continent, for extraordinary eloquence, great courage, ability, and energy, and invincible patriotism.

It was settled that each colony should have only one vote in determining questions, and committees were appointed to state the rights of the colonies, and the wrongs they had suffered, by the acts of parliament since 1763: to prepare petitions to the king, to the people of Great Britain, to the people of Canada, and to the several colonies. Resolutions, which had been adopted by the people of Suffolk county, in Massachusetts, remarkable for energy and boldness, were taken up at an early day, and unanimously approved. Among those resolutions was one recommending all collectors of taxes, and other officers having public moneys in their hands, to retain the same until the civil government of the province should be placed on a "constitutional foundation," or it should be otherwise ordered by a "Provincial Congress." Congress, among the first of their acts, "thoroughly" commended these resolves, as the counsels of "wisdom and fortitude."

On the 8th of October, resolutions were adopted still more explicitly commending the course of Massachusetts, and pledging the rest of the provinces to adhere to her, throughout, in her conflict with "wicked ministers." Two of these were in the following terms:

Resolved, That this Congress do approve of the opposition made by the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, to the execution of the late acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support them in their opposition.

Resolved, unanimously, That every person or persons whosoever, who shall take, accept, or act under any commission or authority, in any wise derived from the act passed in the last session of Parliament, changing the form of government and violating the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, *ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence* by all good

men, and considered as the wicked tools of that *despotism*, which is preparing to destroy those rights, which *God, nature*, and *compact* have given to America."

On the 14th, a declaration of rights was adopted, asserting the liberties and privileges of the colonies, by nature, compact, and under the British constitution; and reciting the several acts of the British parliament, which were considered as infringing them. They were those which we have endeavored to trace succinctly in this volume—the acts of 1764-5-6, and '7, for imposing duties for revenue, beginning with the molasses act, and ending with the tea tax; for extending the power of the admiralty courts, and for suspending the trial by jury; the act of 1772, arising out of the Gaspee affair, creating a new criminal offence, and depriving American citizens of the right of trial by a jury of the vicinage, and making them liable to transportation to any part of Great Britain for trial; and the three acts passed at the preceding session (of 1774);—the Boston port bill, the bill for altering the charter of Massachusetts, and the bill for the administration of justice. The Quebec act passed at the same time, which was designed to repress the growth of the colonies, by extending the limits of Canada, and setting up adverse institutions and interests there, was included in the list; as was also the act for quartering soldiers in America. A distinct resolution was passed, that "the keeping of a standing army in several of these colonies in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of the colony in which such army was kept, is against law."

As the most effectual means of enforcing the attention of the people of Great Britain to these demands, the Congress entered into a general non-importation agreement for themselves and their constituents. By this they bound themselves, and those whom they represented, to cease, after the ensuing December, all importations whatsoever from Great Britain or Ireland, directly or indirectly; all East India tea from any part of the world; most of the productions of the West Indian islands, and other numerous articles from places through which Great Britain might be benefited. To this was added an agreement, to take effect instantly, not to use any goods upon which duties were claimed, or had been, or should be, paid; and a third to export nothing whatever to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, after the 10th of September, 1775, in case the acts complained of should

not be repealed before that date. Efficient measures were taken for organizing committees in every county, city, and town, to see that this agreement was enforced, by every species of popular influence.

The addresses which accompanied these measures cannot be read without the highest admiration of the courage, genius, patriotism, and eloquence of the authors. They are documents from which to extract is to mutilate, and of which no detached fragment can give an adequate idea. They should be read and studied by Americans in all generations, as models of elevated style, dignity of remonstrance, and lofty purity of principle. When they were brought before the British House of Lords, Lord Chatham passed upon them this noble eulogium—"For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—and history has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia."

The address to the people of Great Britain contained the following announcement of the alternatives to which the colonies looked. "If you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood, in such an impious cause, we must then tell you that we will never submit to be hewers of wood, or drawers of water, for any ministry or nation in the world."

"Place us in the same circumstances in which we were at the close of the late war, and our former harmony will be restored.

"But lest the same supineness, and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have for several years shown, should continue, we think it necessary to anticipate the consequences."

In the address to the "people of the colonies," they advise them to be prepared for the 'worst,' and for 'every contingency.'

After a session of eight weeks, Congress dissolved themselves, having previously given it as their opinion, that another Congress should be held on the 10th of the next

May, unless previous redress should have been obtained; and recommending to all the colonies to choose deputies as soon as possible to be prepared for every event. Dec. 1774

A majority of the members of this Congress believed that these measures, especially the non-importation, and non-exportation agreements, would procure them a peaceable redress. Patrick Henry was, however, of a different opinion, and boldly avowed that force must finally be resorted to to defend the rights of America; and prophesied that, with the aid of France and Spain, America would finally triumph.

The legislatures, or their substitutes the provincial conventions, which had in the mean time sprung into authority, very generally, throughout the colonies, approved of these proceedings. New York, which had fallen under the influence of the Tories, was alone excepted. The people everywhere sanctioned and obeyed their recommendations with as much order as though clothed with all the sanctions of regular government.

The general court of Massachusetts had been convoked by Governor Gage, for the 4th of october, and was dissolved by proclamation on the 5th. They met, however, organized themselves into a Provincial Convention, and elected John Hancock president. After adjournment, in defiance of the governor, they met again at Cambridge on the 17th, and appointed committees of "Safety," and of "Supplies;" the first of which, was to call out the militia of the province for its defence. They voted to raise 12,000 militia—enlist one-fourth of the militia, to be ready at a moment's warning, thence called minute men; and appointed three general officers—Jedediah Preble, Artemas Ward, and Colonel Pomeroy. They gave information to the other New England colonies, asking their aid, to make up an army of 20,000 men. They were emboldened to these measures by the alacrity with which the people had risen spontaneously, on a rumor, circulated in September, that the governor had ordered an attack upon Boston, and that the fleet was actually bombarding the town. Within two days, 30,000 volunteers were in arms, on their way to Boston, before it was ascertained that the rumor was unfounded.

Similar preparations were made in other colonies, with a like spirit, but less in extent.

In the mean time, a new parliament had met in Great Britain. The king's speech was threatening towards America, avowing his determination to sustain "the supreme authority of the legislature, over all the dominions of the crown." The American papers were laid before Parliament, in January. Mr. Quincy, of Massachusetts, then in London, after several interviews with the ministry, became convinced that none other than coercive measures would be adopted, and wrote home—"I look to my countrymen with the feelings of one who verily believes that they must yet seal their faith and constancy to their liberties with blood." Events soon confirmed his judgment.

Jan'y 1775.

Lord Chatham magnanimously took the lead in opposition to the ministers, and moved an address to the king, for the removal of the troops from Boston. In one of the fine passages with which his speech abounded, he told the ministry: "Resistance to your acts was necessary, and therefore *just*; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be equally impotent to convince or enslave America."

"You may, no doubt," said he, "destroy their cities; you may cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life; but, my lords, they will still despise your power, for they have yet remaining their woods and their liberty."

The motion was lost by a considerable majority, as was a subsequent bill which he introduced, with the view of settling the general question.

The petition of Congress was, after debate, refused a hearing, as proceeding from an illegal assembly, and on the 9th of February the Houses joined in an address to his majesty, declaring that rebellion actually existed in the colony of Massachusetts, requesting him to use every means to enforce obedience; and pledging him their support, with their lives and property. The address was followed by a ministerial act, which soon passed, restraining the trade of the four New England colonies, as the most 'obstinate and refractory,' with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies, and totally prohibiting their fisheries. These provisions were afterwards extended to all the colonies represented in the Congress, except New York and North Carolina. An addition to the king's

February.

forces, by sea and land, was demanded; in the midst of which, Lord North unexpectedly brought forth a series of propositions for conciliation, induced, probably, by the petitions of the British merchants, upon whom the suspension of trade in America had fallen heavily. Feb. 20. The scheme was substantially a stipulation, that if the colonies would consent to tax themselves to the amount required, disposable by Parliament, and engage to support, besides, their own civil administrations, Parliament would *forbear*, during the time of such agreement, to exercise the taxing power, except for the regulation of commerce. Plans of conciliation were offered by Mr. Burke, and Mr. Hartley, both of which failed, and Lord North's proposition was finally adopted by a large vote, against the wishes of some of his friends, who were obstinate enough to think it too indulgent. Parliament soon after adjourned, and several ships of the line, and ten thousand troops, were dispatched to aid in repressing the rebellion apprehended.

In America, the approaching conflict became daily more evident. Boston, as the head-quarters of the army, was particularly exposed to collisions with them; and in anticipation, every exertion was made to procure arms and ammunition. Cannon, cannon balls, powder, muskets, and military stores, were constantly introduced into the city by every artifice, and in every disguise. In New Hampshire, a number of armed people seized on the powder in the royal castle of William and Mary. Colonel Leslie, who had been dispatched by Governor Gage, to seize some cannon at Salem, was obstructed by the citizens, until the cannon were removed beyond his reach, and he returned without succeeding in his object; and, in New York, a riotous combat took place between the populace and the troops, in which the latter were beaten. In Virginia, the convention adopted spirited resolutions, for arming and disciplining the militia, and procuring the necessary supplies.

In March, the Massachusetts Congress met at Concord, where the committees of 'Safety' and 'Supplies' had collected a large quantity of stores and ammunition. A part of their stores had been seized at Boston Neck; and in April, the Governor, having received intelligence of the proceedings of Parliament, made an effort to seize the whole stock—an attempt which produced the battle of Concord, the first bloodshed of the revolutionary war, where the

king's troops were openly opposed by the colonists. It is the first of a new stage of events, in which resistance by arms, against unconstitutional oppression, took the place of remonstrances, petitions, and protests; but still without renunciation of allegiance to the British crown.

A party of men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith, and Major Pitcairn, were dispatched, by General Gage, on this expedition. The reported object was the seizure of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose active labors in the patriotic cause had made them peculiarly odious to the British party; but the real object was understood. At Lexington, on the road, they found a party of about seventy militia, commanded by Captain Parker, on parade, with a number of spectators of the village, on the green. Notwithstanding the precautions of the British officers to prevent the spread of the intelligence, the march of the troops had been made known by expresses, signal guns, and the ringing of church bells.

April 19th.

They reached Lexington about five o'clock in the morning, when Major Pitcairn, seeing the militia gathered, rode up, with drawn sword, calling out—"Disperse, ye rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." They hesitated, upon which he discharged his pistol, and ordered his corps, the advanced guard of the detachment, to fire. They gave a general discharge, by which eight Americans were killed, and several wounded. The rest dispersed; but the soldiery kept up their fire, when some of the militia returned it.

Thence the party proceeded to Concord; and the militia, who had assembled there, being too few to oppose them, retired. A great part of the stores had been removed, and the detachment executed their orders by destroying what remained, including a number of barrels of flour. The militia had, in the mean time reassembled; and on a movement made by them with apparent design to cross the bridge, into the town, then in possession of the British, they were fired on, and two Americans killed. The fire was promptly returned, and the troops repulsed, with loss of several killed, wounded, and prisoners. The whole country was up in arms instantly, and the British forces, on commencing their retreat, found themselves attacked on every side, by straggling shooters, and parties of volunteers. Every wall, fence, house, and tree, contributed to shelter some exasperated New Englander; and a perpetual fire was kept up in this manner, until the

detachment reached Lexington. A reinforcement, headed by Lord Percy, amounting to nine hundred men, with two pieces of artillery, there met them, and the united forces moved rapidly towards Boston, harassed by the provincial fire, and committing devastation along their route; burning houses, shooting unarmed countrymen, and destroying stock. After a march of forty miles they encamped at Bunker Hill, for the night, under the protection of the men-of-war, and the next day passed over to Boston. In these actions, the loss of the British was two hundred and ninety-three; and of the provincials, only ninety-three.

The results were of the greatest moment. The blow had been struck, by which open war was commenced, under circumstances that roused the universal indignation of the Americans, while the issue invigorated their spirits. They had rallied in great numbers at the signal of strife, and driven in the regulars with loss, after baffling the object of their expedition. Wherever the tidings of the battle were carried, enthusiasm rose, addresses, pledges, congratulations, and triumph, overpowered all apprehensions of the consequences, and the whole continent was animated with one spirit of determination.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts took instant measures, both to arm the province for defence, and to justify the conduct of the militia, to the authorities of Great Britain. They dispatched to England an account of the battle of Lexington, with depositions to prove the aggressions committed by the troops. With it they sent an address to the people of Great Britain, which, after assuring them of continued loyalty to the king, avowed a determination "not tamely to submit to the persecution and tyranny of his evil ministry." They added, emphatically—"Appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free." Dr. Franklin was the agent sent to Great Britain. The House proceeded to put the colony in a state of defence. They resolved to raise an army of *thirteen thousand* men, and requested the neighboring colonies to make the amount up to thirty thousand. They directed the treasurer to borrow £100,000 for the use of the province, and declared the citizens absolved from their obligations of obedience to Governor Gage.

Volunteers offered themselves in such numbers, that they could not be received for want of means to subsist them;

and in a short time, the king's forces, amounting to nearly ten thousand men, were hemmed in by a superior force of provincials. General Ward was appointed commander-in-chief, and Heath, Prescott, Thomas, and Putnam, generals. Putnam was at his plough when the account of the battle was brought him; and without finishing the furrow, or re-entering his house, put himself at the head of a party of his neighbors, and started for the army. Arnold, subsequently so infamous in his treachery, was among the first to reach Boston, having raised a company in New Haven, and forced a march to the spot of action within ten days after the fight at Lexington.

The example of Gage, in endeavoring to seize the colonial stores, was improved by the Americans, in numerous places. The New Jersey people seized upon the royal treasury; and the people of Baltimore and Charleston possessed themselves of the stands of arms belonging to the troops. At Williamsburg, in Virginia, Governor Dunmore had seized upon a quantity of powder in the magazine; and when the return was demanded, gave evasive answers. Patrick Henry, not trusting to his faith, summoned the people to arms; and, at the head of five thousand volunteers, extorted payment from his excellency, and was in return, proclaimed as *an outlaw*—an idle ceremony which only made the governor's weakness more conspicuous.

A party of Connecticut and New Hampshire militia promptly formed the plan of seizing the important fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. They were commanded by Colonels Ethan Allen, and Benedict Arnold. By forced marches they surprised Ticonderoga; and the two officers entering abreast, at day-break, demanded of the astonished commander the surrender of the fort. "By whose authority?" demanded he. "In the name of the great Jehovah, and of the Continental Congress," was the prompt answer of Allen, and the fort was surrendered unconditionally. Crown Point was also secured without the loss of a man.

Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived in Boston, from England, with reinforcements, in the latter part of May; and General Gage, emboldened by their aid, pro-

May. | claimed martial law throughout the province, and issued a proclamation, offering free pardon to all who should lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peacable subjects, except SAMUEL ADAMS and JOHN

HANCOCK, "whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." This proclamation only strengthened the union of the colonists, and elevated these proscribed patriots to a higher position in the confidence of their countrymen. The proudest peer in Europe might exult in a patent for ancestral honors, so honorable in the eyes of posterity as this testimony from the enemy, of the unflinching public virtue of Hancock and Adams.

Adams, in particular, was the object of special dread to the adherents of Great Britain. "This man," said Mr. Galloway, one of the Tories, who joined the enemy and went to Britain, and afterwards published a work there:—"this man eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most indefatigable in the pursuit of his object. It was he who, by superior application, managed at once the factions in Congress at Philadelphia, and the factions in New England."

When Governor Hutchinson, in the beginning of these disturbances, was asked why he did not quiet Adams by the use of his patronage, he answered—"Such is the obstinacy and inflexible disposition of this man, that he never can be conciliated by any offices or gift whatever." Under Governor Gage, the attempt was renewed through a certain Colonel Fenton, just after the military occupation of Boston, to detach him from the American cause, by large offers, and with apparently friendly solicitation and advice to reconcile himself to the king. His answer is a noble specimen of revolutionary patriotism and intrepidity. "I trust I have long since made my peace with the King of kings. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage, it is the advice of Samuel Adams to him, no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

In the mean time the general Congress had met at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May. The members were, with few exceptions, the same as in the first Congress; but under the exigencies of the times, they had been, by the instructions of their constituents, invested with larger powers, and they soon assumed, without any express direction, but with full consent of the people, most of the attributes of delegated sovereignty. On the exception of John Hancock, by Governor Gage, out of his proclamation

of amnesty, the Congress manifested their disregard of the menace, and their confidence in the man, by electing him president, in the place of Mr. Randolph, who was called home on business.

The Congress opened its labors by proposing and sending addresses and appeals to the king and people of Great Britain, and then proceeded to prepare for every alternative, by organizing the defence of the colonies. They voted to raise an army of twenty thousand men—appointed the general officers, and emitted bills of credit to the amount of three millions of dollars, pledging the TWELVE UNITED COLONIES, Georgia not having yet joined the confederation, for the redemption of the debt. On the 5th of June, on motion of Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, GEORGE WASHINGTON was unanimously appointed commander-in-chief, and accepted the appointment in the following address, marked with that unaffected modesty, which clothed with such a gentle grace, his great qualities and unrivalled virtues.

"Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation. But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with. I beg leave, Sir, to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses—those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

At the same time, Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were appointed majors-general; and Horatio Gates, adjutant-general.

Two days afterwards, in another quarter, was fought the memorable battle of Bunker Hill; a battle, the memory of which is dear to the hearts of Americans, as one of the first

and most glorious among those early conflicts in which the strength of a young and untried people, struggling for liberty, was measured with the veteran and disciplined forces of a gigantic and insolent oppressor.

The arrival of the British generals, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, led the Americans, at Boston, to believe that strong offensive demonstrations would soon be made against them. In order to command the access to the city, they determined to make entrenchments, and station a force upon Bunker Hill, a large eminence, just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, and so situated as to command the entrance to both rivers. On the night of the 16th of June, a detachment of a thousand men, under Major Prescott, and accompanied by General Putnam, was dispatched to occupy the hill, and throw up the necessary works. By some error, Breed's Hill, another eminence nearer the town, and overlooking it within cannon shot, was marked out, and the provincials labored with such silence and diligence, that by dawn of day, to the astonishment of the British fleet, which lay in sight, they had thrown up a redoubt nearly eight rods square. They continued to labor at it, notwithstanding an incessant fire from the ships of war, and a battery of six guns, on Copp's Hill, until they had erected a breast-work from the redoubt to the bottom of the Hill, towards the Mystic. Without stopping to return a single gun, and without being relieved by the American army, they persevered, under a murderous discharge from the sea and from the hill, until their defences were completed. In the course of the day, they were reinforced by a detachment of five hundred men, under Stark, Warren, and Pomeroy, and orders were given to extend the works, so as to protect the flank, on the side of the Mystic river; which was done by running two parallel lines of rail fences, filling the intervals with hay.

Orders were given, by the British general, to drive them from this position, and Generals Howe and Pigot, with a force of infantry and grenadiers, amounting to *three thousand* men, with a powerful park of artillery, advanced in two lines—the former to attack the flank, and the latter the redoubt in front. The attack was begun by a heavy cannonading, and the troops marched slowly to observe its effects. At the same time, the barbarous order was given to set fire to Charlestown, containing four hundred houses, which was quickly in flames; and thus a small force

June 17.

of young and untrained soldiers were waiting, under the fire of a tremendous battery of guns, illuminated by the glare of a burning village, the approach of a veteran force of double their number. Their coolness was admirable. The order of Putnam, not to fire till they could distinguish the whites of the eyes of the advancing force, was scrupulously obeyed; and the enemy were permitted to approach within about sixty yards, when a deadly fire of small arms was opened upon them with such effect, that whole ranks were mowed down; and the line, wavering for a moment, broke and gave way, falling precipitately back to the landing place. They rallied, and again advanced, and were again beaten back by the same destructive and incessant stream of fire. General Clinton, who had come to the aid of his brother generals, rallied them again, and led them a third time to the charge, which at length proved successful. Powder began to fail in the redoubt, and the cannon from the fleet had taken a position which raked it through and through. Under the fire from ships, batteries, and field artillery, and attacked by a superior force on three sides at once, at the point of the bayonet, and without bayonets or powder themselves, the provincials slowly evacuated the fort, not without obstinate resistance, some of them persisting to fight with the butts of their guns.

The attempt to take the position in flank, was met in the same way, and with the same undaunted spirit. The Americans maintained their position, under every disadvantage, covering the retreat of the main body, and then made their own retreat over Charlestown Neck, with inconsiderable loss, though exposed to the fire of the Glasgow man-of-war, and several floating batteries. The Americans entrenched themselves on Prospect Hill, a few miles farther on the way to Cambridge, and still maintained their command of the entrance to Boston.

The British loss was one thousand and fifty-four—the Americans, four hundred and fifty-three. Among these, was the lamented Joseph Warren, who had been one of the earliest, ablest, most zealous, and energetic friends of liberty, and whose virtues and talents had given him the highest rank as a patriot in the estimation of his countrymen. Every honor which affectionate gratitude and regret could devise was paid to his memory.

The general result of the battle, in a military point of

view, was disastrous to the British forces. The continental troops were inspirited by the proofs of courage, and capacity to cope with the regulars, which had been shown by a raw and undisciplined militia, and drew up a line of force, which completely hemmed the British army within the town of Boston. On the 3d of July, General Washington arrived at Cambridge from Philadelphia, to take command. On his way, he had been received everywhere with honors and congratulations, to which he gave replies, expressing his earnest desire to bring the controversy with Great Britain to a speedy and amicable conclusion.

The force which he found amounted to about fourteen thousand men, which was soon after augmented to about fifteen thousand five hundred, by the arrival of some rifle regiments from the south. They were re-arranged, and divided into three commands; the right under General Ward, at Roxbury; the left under General Lee, at Prospect Hill; and the centre at Cambridge, under the commander-in-chief. The lines of communication by posts extended over a space of more than ten miles, and parties were stationed in small towns in the neighborhood. Commissions, granted by Congress, to eight brigadiers, were issued. They were Pomeroy, Heath, and John Thomas, of Massachusetts; Montgomery, of New York; Wooster and Spencer, of Connecticut; Sullivan, of New Hampshire; and Greene, of Rhode Island.

The army thus organized, had little else to rely upon for success than the enthusiasm which brought them together. The task of bringing them into the forms of discipline was one of great difficulty, and occupied the whole time and anxious attention of the commander-in-chief. Their zeal, and independence of habits, rendered them better fitted to partizan expeditions, requiring gallantry and enterprise, than to the orderly and obedient duties of regular forces, engaged in one common object, under a single commander. They were, moreover insufficiently armed, and without the necessary tools and experience to erect properly the necessary fortifications. Their powder was very deficient in quantity—so much so, that at one time there was not enough in the whole camp to have enabled them to repel an assault. This immediate want was soon supplied by a quantity sent from Elizabethtown, in New Jersey. Add to these embarrassments the total want of preparation, both

with regard to money, provisions, and clothing, and the undefined and conflicting nature of the powers exercised under colonial authority, and by the direction of Congress, and it will readily be seen that the position of the commander-in-chief, as well as that of his army, was by no means encouraging. When the heat of immediate excitement passed off, and all the privations and difficulties growing out of these deficiencies pressed upon them fully; the effects were, for a while, dispiriting, particularly as they had looked for a short campaign, and a speedy settlement of the controversy. For a season, however, keen resentment, and a resolute determination to expel the British army from the province, kept these raw, undisciplined, and unprovided soldiers together, so strongly, as to overawe the forces of General Gage. Those forces amounted to about eight thousand men; which, with the aid of the shipping, might be concentred at any point of the American lines. The attempt, however, was not made; and, during the autumn, the blockading forces continued to make approaches nearer to the British line. Arms and ammunition were provided, with great industry and perseverance, and voyages, made for that purpose, with great success, even to the coast of Africa. Privateers were commissioned, and Captain Manly, the first naval officer created by Congress, in the privateer *Lee*, captured a British ordnance ship, laden with military stores, singularly adapted to the precise wants of the American army. Other ships similarly laden, soon after fell into the hands of the colonial privateers.

Following the advice of Congress, the colonies had assumed a practical independence of British authority, and either formed provisional conventions for administering their political affairs; or, as in the cases of Connecticut and Rhode Island, acted on the same principles under their ancient forms and charters.

Everywhere the tidings of the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, stirred up a like determination to resist and annoy where they could not expel the British authorities.—The militia were enrolled and armed in Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. In July, Georgia had finally acceded to the confederation, which then took the name of "the Thirteen United Colonies," and resistance became popular there. The south proper, sent several companies of riflemen, at once, to the army at Boston, and Pennsylvania and New

Jersey contributed numerous recruits. In New York, a party of patriots seized and carried away the cannon from the battery, notwithstanding repeated broadsides fired upon them by the *Asia*, a seventy-four gun ship, and soon after broke into the printing-office of the notorious tory newspaper, published by Rivington, and destroyed the press. A volunteer party of twelve men fitted out a vessel from Charleston, South Carolina, to obtain a supply of powder, and near St. Augustine, in Florida, met with a British vessel, manned by twelve grenadiers, which they captured, and found in it fifteen thousand pounds of powder, which they landed safely at Beaufort. In Virginia, such were the manifestations of public excitement, that the governor, Lord Dunmore, took refuge, with his family, on board the Fowey man-of-war, near Yorktown. He summoned the House of Burgesses to attend him there; but instead of obeying, they considered his movements as an abdication of the government, appointed committees of safety, made ordinances for regulating the militia, raised a force of two regiments, and appointed Patrick Henry commander-in-chief. A predatory warfare was thereupon commenced by Lord Dunmore, with the ships and boats under his command, along the James and York rivers. In one of these, a tender of the *Otter* sloop-of-war was burned by the provincials, in revenge for which Lord Dunmore proclaimed martial law, and declared all the slaves who should join his majesty's standard to be free. Collecting a force of regulars, and runaway slaves, to the number of about seven hundred, he ordered an attempt to surprise the Virginia forces, collected for defence, at Great Bridge, under the command of Colonel Woodford. The governor's party was routed in the conflict, and hastily retired to their shipping. At the close of the year, Lord Dunmore finished his barbarous career there by burning the town of Norfolk. The people of Delaware sunk *Chevaux de Frize*, in their river, to obstruct the approach of an enemy.

At Gloucester, in New England, the militia seized upon three boats and their crews, belonging to the Falcon sloop-of-war, which had been sent out to capture an American schooner. The town was bombarded, in retaliation, by the frigate, and in company with another frigate, the *Rose*, and two armed schooners, she ravaged the whole coast, cannonading unprotected villages, and wantonly destroying the houses and property of the inhabitants. Bristol, in Rhode

Island, and Falmouth, (now Portland) in Maine, were totally burnt.

Thus, in a few weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill, the resentments, upon both sides, had broken out into open hostilities; war, in fact, existed in most of the colonies, and blood had been shed in many conflicts. The design of complete independence was, however, not yet avowed in any place of authority or influence. Public meetings, and provincial conventions, congresses and committees, continued to profess attachment to the British constitution, and deny all intention of dissolving their political connexion with Great Britain. They avowed only a desire to be restored to the same state, in regard to the mother country, in which they were before the year 1763. The people of Mecklenburg county, in North Carolina, were a remarkable exception to this general accordance on a topic which could not, even at that day, have been absent from the thoughts of many of the public men in the colonies. Delegates from the militia companies in that county met in May, 1775, before the battle of Bunker Hill; and after reciting the 'inhuman' shedding of 'innocent blood' of American patriots at Lexington, voted to absolve themselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and 'abjure all political connexion, contract, or association with a nation which had wantonly trampled on their rights and liberties.' The following was the concluding resolution:

Resolved, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of God and the General Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other, our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

This bold declaration met with no general response at that period, and the people generally, while they were determined to resist, by arms, the execution of the tyrannical acts, looked forward to a final repeal of them by the British parliament, and a disavowal of the power.

These were popular movements, and occurred at different periods, within the summer and autumn of 1775. The Continental Congress, in the mean time, was efficiently engaged, in endeavoring to combine the forces and sentiments of all into a united resistance to Great Britain in the

execution of her acts, and a united effort to get them recalled. In addition to the peaceful measures already mentioned, they resolved that "exportation to all parts of British America which had not adopted their association, should immediately cease;" that "no bill of exchange, draught, or order," of any British officer should be received or negotiated, no money supplied them, and no vessel be permitted to carry any military stores for British use, to any part of North America.

These resolutions were retaliatory for the British acts restraining American trade.

They established a General Post Office Department, and appointed Dr. Franklin postmaster-general, an office which he had held under the crown.

Finally, on the 6th of July they adopted a declaration, setting forth, in the form of a manifesto, the causes of their taking up arms, the extent of their demands, their own injuries, and the tyrannical and unconstitutional methods taken by the ministry to reduce them to obedience. It was a paper drawn up with signal moderation, firmness, and ability. After giving a historical account of the successive pretensions set up by the parliament to supremacy over the colonies, after the peace of 1763, the declaration alleges—"Parliament, assuming a new power over them, have in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubts concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their ancient limits, for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature, solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the 'murderers' of colonists from legal trial, and in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighboring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers

July 1775.

upon the colonists in times of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists, charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

"But should we enumerate our injuries in detail?—By one statute it is declared that parliament can 'of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatever.'—What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power?"

The declaration next recounts the fruitless petitions, appeals, and remonstrances of the colonies, the inhuman outrages, and slaughters committed on the inhabitants of Massachusetts, under the orders of Governor Gage, by the royal forces, his proclamation of martial law, the burning of Charlestown, &c., and concludes thus:—

"We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom, which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

"Our cause is just: our union is perfect: our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the divine favor towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up into our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly before God and the world declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator has graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabated firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than live like slaves.

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we

assure them, that we mean not to dissolve the union, which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder condition than servitude or death.

"In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed until the late violation of it, for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves; against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

"With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war."

The proposition of Lord North, for conciliation, was taken into consideration, and rejected with great unanimity, as illusory in all its promises, and "altogether unsatisfactory;" because it proposed only a "suspension of the mode, not a renunciation of the pretended right to tax;" because it did "not repeal the several acts of parliament for restraining the trade and altering the form of government of one of the colonies;" and because it did not explicitly "renounce" the power of suspending the colonial legislatures, and that of legislating "in all cases whatever." The Committee, consisting of Dr. Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Richard Henry Lee, concluded their report by invoking the reflection of the whole world, upon the cruel and deceitful character of the British plan. "When," say they, "these things are laid together and attentively considered, can the world be deceived into an opinion, that we are unreasonable, or can it hesitate to believe us that nothing but our own

exertions may defeat the ministerial sentence of death, or abject submission?"

A second petition to the king, and addresses to the inhabitants of Great Britain, to the Irish people, and to the authorities of Jamaica, were also adopted. Addresses were also made to the Indians. Congress then adjourned to meet again in September.

The petition to the king was intrusted to the care of Mr. Penn and Arthur Lee, who presented it to Lord Dartmouth on the 1st of September. After a few days delay, they were coldly informed that no answer would be given; an insulting treatment of the humble remonstrances of United America, which served to convince the most timid of the necessity of persevering in their preparations to decide the controversy by arms, if they would not submit to unlimited tyranny.

Congress re-assembled in September, and a few weeks afterwards, General Gage sailed for England, leaving the command of the British forces to General Howe.

More and more vigorous measures were constantly required, till by degrees Congress were compelled to assume all the functions of a regular government, which were, in general, acquiesced in from the necessity of the case, or by express enactment of the several provincial conventions acting in behalf of the individual colonies. It was found necessary to take strong measures against domestic enemies, and Congress authorized the arrest of such persons "going at large, who might endanger the safety of the colonies, or the liberties of America." They determined to carry on their own deliberations in secret, denouncing expulsion, with the stigma of being an enemy to the liberties of America, upon every person who should violate the order.

The main army of the Americans continued to blockade the royal forces in the town of Boston. Congress had, however, unfortunately adopted the plan of short enlistments; and a few months of inactivity in camp, under circumstances of want and comparative privation, had diminished the military ardor of new levies. A task of great difficulty was before the new commander-in-chief. His appeals, addresses, remonstrances, and invocations, addressed to the interests, feelings, and patriotism of Congress, were earnest and unremitting.

Few of those whose time had already expired had re-enlisted in October, and the term of none extended beyond

the 1st of January following. Congress made liberal offers, and General Washington summoned the neighbouring colonies to send their militia to the aid of the general cause, which requisitions were complied with readily. The new troops arrived in considerable numbers, and the army was gradually re-modelled; but not to any efficient extent, until the month of February 1776. With all these efforts, on the last day of December, the whole force enlisted did not amount to ten thousand men. The lines were sometimes in a state almost defenceless, but fortunately no attack was made upon them by the enemy. No sufficient reason has been assigned for this neglect of General Howe, which was of the highest importance to the American cause. "It is not," said General Washington in his communications to Congress, "in the page of history to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post, within musket-shot of the enemy for six months together, without ammunition, and at the same time disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted."

The policy of short enlistments, which produced so much difficulty here, and was the occasion of infinite mischief during the whole war, was partly forced upon Congress by necessity, and partly the result of a jealous dread of the expense and danger of a permanent standing army. They did not at first calculate upon a protracted contest, and were destitute of means for future payments; and a confidence was entertained that draughts upon the militia would be readily answered, to any extent required for the defence of colonial liberty. How frequently these calculations were disappointed, will be seen in the subsequent events of the war.

Such as we have described, was, at the end of the year, the condition of affairs in Massachusetts, and especially in the neighbourhood of Boston. General Washington was employed with indefatigable industry in keeping his forces together and bringing them into a state of discipline and preparation, in order to make a successful attack upon the town. General Howe with the English troops, was cooped up within the town; and by the activity of the American cruisers, authorized by Congress, his supplies, as well of subsistence as of military stores, were diminished until his situation became one of great difficulty. Neither army felt the disposition, nor made any demonstration, towards an attack upon the other.

Connected with these operations of the main army was the expedition against Canada, ordered by Congress in September. It was a bold step of hostility against the mother country, which was considered at the time, by some of the fast friends of American rights, to be a departure from the legitimate objects for which they had taken up arms, and an aggression upon the territories of Great Britain, not warranted by the state of the controversy. The defence of the measure is, the universal conviction, that General Carleton, who commanded in Canada, was instructed by the British government, and provided with ample means, to prepare an expedition to co-operate with the forces of General Howe, in subduing the colonies. They were informed that munitions of war, money, and troops, were to be concentrated there for an invasion of the Anglo-American colonies; and they knew that large and unusual powers had been conferred upon the new governor. His talents and popularity were great, and they had reason to fear his influence in reconciling the Canadians to the measures of the British government, with some of which they had been discontented, as well as to dread the military strength he could bring against them. The capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, already mentioned, opened the way for an expedition; and Colonel Arnold, who, with Colonel Ethan Allen, had seized upon those posts, was earnest in pressing upon Congress the policy of invading Canada. They finally acquiesced; and late in the season two detachments were dispatched on this duty, one under the command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, by the customary route through Lake Champlain, to the St. Lawrence, and the other under Colonel Arnold by the river Kennebec in Maine, and by forced marches through the wilderness.

The first detachment, consisting of a body of New England troops, about 1100 in number, arrived at Ticonderoga, and proceeded down the lake, early in September. General Schuyler, who had been left at Albany, to negotiate with the Mohawk Indians, in order to secure the rear of the march, joined them at Cape la Motte. From that place they moved to the Isle aux Noix, from which place they issued a proc-

Sept. 10. | lamation to the Canadians, and soon after effected a landing at *St. John's*, the first British post, 115 miles North of Ticonderoga. After a slight skirmish with the Indians, the fort was found too strong for assault,

and it was resolved in a council of war, to retreat twelve miles to the *Isle aux Nois,* erect fortifications and sink chevaux-de-frise, to interrupt the navigation of the river Sorel in which the fort was situated, and to prevent the communication with the shipping which Governor Carleton had prepared. General Schuyler soon after returned to Albany, and General Montgomery was left in the sole command, to prosecute the siege of the fort. This was much retarded from want of ammunition. By the reduction of Fort Chambly, at a distance of six miles from St. Johns, he obtained a large supply of powder, and Governor Carleton, being repulsed in his attempts to cross the river to relieve the fort, it surrendered on the 3d of November. During this siege, Col. Ethan Allen, with extraordinary rashness, and in disobedience of orders, forced his way to Montreal, with only eighty men, was surrounded, defeated, captured, and sent to England in irons.

After the reduction of St. Johns, the American forces occupied and fortified the mouth of the Sorel, and advanced rapidly on Montreal. The British forces, incapable of defending the town, repaired on board the shipping, and endeavoured to escape down the river. They were stopped and captured at the point of the Sorel, and General Prescott, and many other officers, and eleven sail of vessels, with ammunition, provisions, &c. fell into the hands of the victors. Montreal was soon occupied by General Montgomery, whose conduct on the occasion was distinguished by the utmost dignity, courtesy and humanity. Governor Carleton escaped in a boat, by an unfrequented way through *Trois Rivieres,* and arrived in Quebec. Montgomery, after leaving some troops to keep possession of Montreal, pushed on to Quebec, before which he arrived on the 1st of December. Nov. 13.

The other detachment, under the command of Colonel Arnold, consisting originally of about twelve hundred men, had, with amazing difficulty and the severest toils and hardships, penetrated through the province of Maine, a distance of *five hundred* miles, by a route totally unexplored before, through a forest wilderness. Part of the troops turned back, discouraged by the want of provisions, and those who continued, to the number of seven hundred, encountered terrible fatigues and privations, being reduced to eat their shoes and baggage-leather. On the eighth of November, they arrived on the River St. Lawrence, opposite to Quebec, to

the great dismay of the citizens, to whom the sight of an enemy in that direction was totally unexpected. Arnold, by reason of the treachery of his scouts, was disappointed in the means of crossing the river, and thus lost all the advantages of the panic which his first arrival had created. The presence of Governor Carleton re-assured the inhabitants, and solid preparations for defence were made, which it was not in the power of the invaders to interrupt. After vainly summoning the town to surrender, to which no answer was returned, Arnold was compelled to wait for the arrival of the forces under Montgomery.

Early in December, the whole American force assembled before Quebec, but under circumstances materially altered. Their fortune had changed, dissensions broke out among the officers, their money failed, provisions were difficult to be obtained, the winter set in with extreme severity, and their numbers had been reduced to about half that of those that garrisoned the town. Eight hundred men were all that he could muster fit for duty, while General Carleton's forces exceeded fifteen hundred, 450 of whom were seamen belonging to the king's ships, and the merchant vessels in the harbor. Under these disadvantages they maintained the siege with occasional bombardments, until the 31st of December, on the morning of which, a general assault was made, in which the American forces were repulsed, and Genl. Montgomery killed.

This ill-starred attack was planned, by General Montgomery, to take place in four different places, two of which, under the command of Colonel Livingston and Major Brown, were to be made against St. John's Gate, and Cape Diamond, respectively, as feints to distract the enemy, while himself and Colonel Arnold conducted the principal attacks against the lower town. The assault commenced during a heavy snow-storm, but by mistake in giving the signal, the garrison was alarmed, and prepared to receive them. Montgomery carried the first barrier, and was advancing at the head of his troops towards the second, when a discharge of grape-shot from a cannon, cut him down, with many officers and soldiers around him. The men were so dispirited with the fall of their gallant and beloved commander, that the second in command, Colonel Campbell, thought proper to order a retreat. Arnold, on his side, carried a two gun battery, in which action he was wounded, and compelled to retire from the

field. His men pushed on and carried a second barrier, when, unsupported by the other detachments, and hemmed in by superior numbers, they were compelled to surrender. The issue was, in consequence, a total defeat of the assailants. Their loss, independent of their heroic chief, one of the severest losses which America sustained during the campaign, was about one hundred men killed, and three hundred prisoners. It is an honorable trait, to be recorded of Genl. Carleton, that he emulated the noble conduct of his deceased antagonist, in using his triumph generously, and treating his prisoners with courtesy and indulgence.

Arnold drew off the remainder of his troops, and retired about three miles from the city. He entrenched himself in quarters for the winter, fortifying himself with his gallant little army, in such a manner, that the enemy did not undertake to molest him.

Having thus brought the narrative of civil and military affairs in America, to the close of the year 1775, it is necessary, in order to understand their relations to Great Britain, at that period, to revert to the course of the British Parliament, on the intelligence of the proceedings of the first session of the Continental Congress, of that year.

CHAPTER VII.

THE session of parliament commenced about the close of the month of October. The king's speech gave the situation of American affairs, as the reason for convoking the House at so early a day. The conduct of the Americans was stigmatized as "treason, revolt, and rebellion;" their opinions were pronounced to be "repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies," and to their "subordinate relation to Great Britain;" they were accused of "aiming at establishing an independent empire;" and a determination was expressed "to put a speedy end to these disorders, by the most decisive exertions." He added, that "the most friendly offers of foreign service had been made."

The whole speech was warlike in tone, breathing nothing but vengeance against America. The answers of both houses contained the same sentiments, and avowed the same determinations, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of some of the most able and upright statesmen. The project of employing foreign troops to subdue the colonies, was especially reprobated, as sanguinary, vindictive and unconstitutional. The Duke of Richmond, with nineteen other peers, made a protest upon the journal of the House of Lords. General Conway and the Duke of Grafton, seceded from the administration, and Lord George Sackville Germaine was made secretary for the colonies in place of Lord Dartmouth.

Propositions were made, and repeated in various forms, for opening the way to a conciliation with America, and all voted down by large ministerial majorities.

Nov. 10. Mr. Penn was, on motion of the duke of Richmond, examined at the bar of the House in regard to the dispositions and views of the Americans. On the conclusion of the examination, the duke moved that the petition of the continental congress, the same to which the king had refused an answer, was "ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences subsisting between Great Britain and America." This was negatived by a large majority. A subsequent motion by the duke of Grafton, shared a like

fate. Mr. Burke brought forward a scheme of conciliation, and supported it eloquently, but unavailingly, in an elaborate speech. Mr. Fox failed in a like effort. Mr. Hartley introduced a series of resolutions, for a suspension of hostilities, to restore the charter of Massachusetts, and to repeal all the laws complained of, enacted since 1763. They were rejected without debate. By these repeated defeats of every suggestion, tending towards concession, it was established beyond question, that the ruling party were determined on subjugating the colonies by force of arms. The means provided, were conceived in a similar spirit of resolute and unflinching hostility to America.

The first step was a *prohibitory law*, interdicting all trade and intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies. By it all property of Americans, whether of ships or goods on the high seas, or in harbor, was declared forfeited to captors, being of his majesty's ships of war, and the crews were to be impressed on board of the ships of war. An exception was made, in favor of such colonies, and parts of colonies, as should *return* to a *state of obedience*, and a commission was authorized for determining the claims of applicants for this relaxation of rigor.

This tyrannical and inhuman law, was followed by energetic measures to prosecute the war of conquest to extinguish the rebellion. The king laid before parliament, treaties which he had already negotiated with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, for the hiring of foreign mercenaries to carry on the American war. The debates to which the discussion of this Hessian treaty gave rise, necessarily took a wide and exciting range. Among the arguments which were used to show the impolicy and inhumanity of employing these foreign mercenaries, it was contended that it would be counselling the Colonies to enter into foreign alliances; because they might, instead of hiring foreign troops, obtain upon better terms the assistance of those European powers from which Great Britain had most to fear. On the other hand, the treaties were strenuously defended by the ministers on the strong plea of necessity. They spoke lightly of the expenses which would attend the employment of these troops, as they did not doubt that the war with America would be finished in one campaign, or at most in two. The idea that the war would be prolonged

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to a more distant period, they thought "so totally improbable as not to merit consideration." Such were the sanguine calculations of those who directed the public affairs of Great Britain. Seventeen thousand troops were engaged by these treaties, and nearly *a million* sterling voted to defray the extraordinary military expenses of the year. Twenty-five thousand English troops were also ordered on the same service, and a large fleet stationed on the coast to co-operate. These, with the troops already in America, and reinforcements from Canada, would, it was estimated, amount to 55,000 men, abundantly supplied with munitions, provisions, arms, and ammunition, a force, strong enough, in the opinion of the ministry, to crush America at a blow.

One more effort, to make reconciliation still possible, was made, by the opposition. The duke of Grafton moved for an address to the king, praying that his majesty would be pleased to issue a proclamation, declaring that "if the Colonies, before or after the arrival of the troops destined for America, shall present a petition to the commander-in-chief, or to the commissioners to be appointed under the late act, setting forth what they consider to be their just rights and real grievances, that in such case his majesty will consent to a suspension of arms; and that he has *authority from his parliament* to assure them that their petition shall be received, considered, and answered." March, 14.

This failed, and parliament, soon after, adjourned.

The two brothers, Admiral and General Howe, were appointed commissioners under the *prohibitory* act, with power to grant pardons and re-establish peace upon submission. Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis had already embarked, with part of the corps designed for American service, and Admiral Hotham and Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, soon after followed.

War on an extensive scale, and with an apparently irresistible force, now threatened the devoted colonies. The armies and fleets that kept Europe in awe, and had in a recent war humbled the joint power of France and Spain in both hemispheres, were directed against a few plantations, without revenues, soldiery, military experience, fortresses, or ships; without a common government to concentrate, with the sanctions of legitimate authority, the strength and resources which they actually possessed, embarassed by their anomalous relations towards their assailants, acknowledging

the general authority of Great Britain while they were resisting her with arms, and perplexed by contrariety of opinions and uncertainty of aim among themselves. The contest was apparently so unequal, that the British ministry may be excused for their error of judgment, in expecting an immediate subjugation of their refractory subjects. They could not anticipate the strength of the spirit of liberty which actuated the mass of the American people, and which made them bear up under such obstacles and perils against overwhelming odds, until defeats, disasters, and sufferings, taught them the way to victory.

Tidings of the king's speech, at the opening of the session, and of the immediate proceedings in relation to the petition of Congress, were received in America with deep resentment. The army before Boston was particularly exasperated, and the feeling was improved by the officers, and by congress, to stimulate them to more vigorous measures against the town of Boston before the arrival of the expected reinforcements to the British army. The speech was publicly burned in the camp, and the flag which had previously been plain red, was changed to thirteen stripes, emblematic of the union of the colonies. Differences of opinion had prevailed between General Washington, and the council of officers, on the subject of making a general assault, arising out of the deficiency of powder, and the unsettled condition of the troops. On the 14th of February, his proposal to risk the attack, was overruled; but the new levies having arrived shortly after, with a large force of New England militia, and a supply of ammunition, it was determined to take advantage of the enthusiasm and resentment of the soldiers, to expel the enemy from Boston.

The first object was to get possession of Dorchester Heights, which commanded the town and the harbor. Two days before the main attempt was made, a brisk cannonading was opened upon *Phipp's Farm*, in another direction, to divert the attention of the British from the real object. The feint succeeded, and on the evening of the 4th of March, a party of 2000 Americans under the command of *General Thomas*, provided with the necessary boats, crossed over to the heights, in silence, and worked with such secrecy and expedition, that on the morning of the 5th, they had erected breastworks sufficient for their own defence, in prosecuting their labours, and had already

March 24.

mounted a battery of bombs and 24-pounders. The British admiral announced to General Howe, that the fleet could not remain in the harbor, unless the Americans were dislodged from the heights. An expedition was planned, and three thousand men detailed for the purpose. A violent storm rose, which prevented their embarkation during the day, and scattered the boats, and on the next morning it was found that the provincials had worked so diligently in extending and strengthening their works, as to make the attempt to force them hopeless. Their position commanded the whole town and harbour, and no resource was left to General Howe, but immediate evacuation. An informal negotiation was opened with General Washington, through the selectmen of the town, but without the signature of General Howe, proposing, that if the retreat of the British army were unmolested, they would retire without injury to the town. The proposition was not positively acceded to, but the engagement was tacitly complied with by the American forces All firing upon the town ceased. Accordingly on the 17th

March 17. | the British troops, amounting to more than *seven thousand* soldiers and a large accompanying multitude, in one hundred and fifty vessels of various sizes and descriptions, evacuated the town, which was immediately occupied by the triumphant provincials. Ten days had been employed in the embarkation, and numerous riots and disorders occurred among the citizens, as well as with the soldiery. Houses were pillaged, and violence and robbery were common, notwithstanding the efforts of the general to prevent them. Fifteen hundred families, adherents to Great Britain, accompanied the retreat, and added greatly to the confusion and distress of the scene. The embarkation was hastened by the erection of fortifications in several prominent positions, which threatened to hem in the British forces beyond the possibility of escape. When they at last sailed out of the harbor, they were in a straitened condition for the necessaries of life, food, fuel, and clothing for such a multitude. They were compelled to leave behind a considerable quantity of military stores. They demolished the fortifications of Castle William, and spiked the guns, and after being detained by contrary winds for some days in the roads, sailed for Halifax, where they waited for the reinforcements from England. A naval force was left on the station to warn the expected British store ves-

sels of the evacuation of the city, and protect them. Several of them however, fell into the hands of the Americans.

As a measure of precaution, General Washington directed General Sullivan at New York, to be on his guard, apprehending that General Howe might direct his course to that city, which was in a defenceless state. General Clinton had already been detached by General Howe, to operate in the south, and Washington, uncertain of the precise plan of operations of the enemy, and apprehending New York to be the point of destination, had sent General Charles Lee to counteract the movement. As soon as Howe's forces left Boston, he sent additional forces to New York.

The entry of the provincial army into Boston, was hailed with great triumphs and rejoicing there and throughout the colonies. Congress passed a vote of public thanks to the commander-in-chief and the soldiery, and ordered a gold medal to be struck in honor of the achievement.

The loyalists who had adhered to the enemy were prosecuted, and their property confiscated and sold for the benefit of the Treasury. The town was put into a state of defence, and garrisoned, and a few weeks afterwards, the commander-in-chief, with the main body of the army, marched for New York, where they arrived on the 1st of April. General Lee, with a force of Connecticut militia, amounting to twelve hundred men, had succeeded in reaching that city, just at the moment when the fleet, with the forces of Clinton, appeared off Sandy Hook. The British plan was thus frustrated, and Clinton sailed for the south. The occupation of the city by Lee, met with violent opposition and remonstrance from the royalists there, who were strong in numbers and influence. The committee of safety sent to urge him not to enter, because the enemy had threatened that the ships of war would fire the town. "Tell them," was the answer of Lee, "that if they set one house on fire in consequence of my coming, I will chain a hundred of their friends by the neck, and make the house their funeral pile," a threat which brought down the arrogant tone of the king's party, and the patriots were left unmolested. Lee, after putting up works for defending the city, until the arrival of Washington, and administering, with characteristic energy and decision, a test oath to the citizens, set off with his forces, to follow the southern progress of Clinton. Soon after, the commander-in-chief established

April.

his head-quarters in New York, with the greater part of the army, from Boston, strengthened by recruits of the militia of New York and New Jersey.

Before tracing the momentous civil and political events, which followed shortly after, it is proper, for a true understanding of the whole position, resources, and prospects of the colonies, at the moment when they hazarded the Declaration of Independence, to follow the fortune of the contemporaneous military expeditions, in Canada by the Americans and against the southern colonies by the British.

Arnold, with his diminished and suffering troops, amounting to about seven hundred men, had, after the death of Montgomery, successfully maintained himself, and cut off the communications of the garrison of Quebec, until reinforced by detachments under the command of Generals Wooster and Thomas from Boston. The whole force in May, amounted, nominally, to three thousand men, but the small-pox prevailed among them with great violence, and reduced their effective strength to less than one thousand. An attempt was made to fire the town, with the design of storming it in the midst of the confusion; but it miscarried, and the American forces, weakened by sickness, which constantly increased among them, and exhausted by toils in the midst of an enemy's country, were farther dispirited by intelligence of the near approach of a considerable body of English troops, to relieve the town. The progress of the war had not encouraged the Canadians or Indians to take part with the colonies, and the arrival of a very superior force threatened to place the besieging army in a very critical position.

May 5. Early in May the van of the British troops arrived, consisting of two companies of regulars, and a large body of marines. The vessels that brought them had forced their way with great difficulty through the ice. Governor Carleton, with eight hundred men, belonging to the garrison, having formed a junction with the reinforcement, marched instantly to attack the American camp; but the Americans had anticipated the movement, and commenced a precipitate retreat the day before, leaving behind them their stores, part of their baggage and some of the sick. These latter were treated with great kindness and humanity; proclamation was made, promising protection and aid to such of them, as might be concealed through

fear, and all were generously fed and clothed, and sent safely home—a line of policy which strengthened very much the British interests in Canada. In a few weeks the British forces were augmented by successive arrivals of English, and some Brunswick troops, to the number of thirteen thousand men, under Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, and Reidesel. The Americans had retreated, without stopping, to the Sorel, where they were reinforced by several battalions, intrenched themselves, and threw up works for defence. General Thomas died there of the small-pox, and the command devolved first upon Arnold, and then upon General Sullivan. After an ineffectual attempt to surprise the main body of the enemy at *Trois Rivieres*, it was found necessary to evacuate the whole province of Canada. The pursuit was divided into two columns; but the retreating army, though inferior in numbers, and under such serious disadvantages, baffled their pursuers completely. Sullivan retreated by the Sorel, and Arnold evacuated Montreal twenty-four hours before the enemy entered it. The army re-united at St. Johns, under the command of Sullivan, and having burnt the magazine, barracks, and batteaux, retired under the cannon of Crown Point, whither the enemy were unable to follow. The retreat was considered a masterly effort of military genius, and Congress voted their thanks to General Sullivan and his army, for their courage, fortitude, and skill.

Gen. Gates was soon after appointed to the northern command: and having collected a force of twelve thousand men, took up a position at Ticonderoga, which he fortified, and with the naval command of Lake Champlain, was able to check the immediate advance of the enemy in that direction.

The disasters of the Canada campaign were compensated, in part, to the general cause of the colonies, by the more fortunate issue of their defences in the southern colonies. In North Carolina, the royal governor, Martin, who had been obliged, at the beginning of the year, like Lord Dunmore of Virginia, to abandon the province, and take refuge on board of a man-of-war, continued to exercise his office, and encourage the assembling of soldiers, in behalf of the loyal cause. A large number, from sixteen to seventeen hundred, principally Scotch emigrants, collected under the command of one McDonald, expecting the arrival of the British forces under Lord Cornwallis, and Sir Peter Parker, designed for the southern campaign, and of General Clinton,

who was on his way south from Boston. The provincial governor, Moore, collected some militia to oppose them, and stationed them, to the number of a thousand men, at *Moore's Creek Bridge*. The royalists hastily attacked them at that post, and as hastily retreated, with the loss of their arms amounting to *fifteen hundred* rifles, several hundred muskets, numerous waggons, a quantity of ammunition, and about seventy men killed. The Americans had but two men wounded. The attack was rash, and the flight a cowardly rout; the results were, the total loss of the province to the royalists, and the defeat of that portion of the British plan of the campaign. General Clinton arrived about the same time, in the Cape Fear, and Governor Martin embarked, with others of the royal adherents in North Carolina, to share in the enterprise against Charleston, now the main object of attack. A junction of the British forces was made at that point; the fleet under the command of Sir Peter Parker, consisted of two fifty gun ships, four frigates of twenty-eight guns each, two armed vessels of twenty and twenty-two guns, a sloop and gun boat. The land forces were 2500, in number. This armament crossed Charleston bar on the 4th of June, and anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island, upon which fortifications had been erected, commanding the channel leading to the town. The fort was built of Palmetto wood, mounted twenty-six guns, 32's and 16's, and was garrisoned by a regiment of 375 regulars and a few militia, under the command of Colonel William Moultrie. Long Island, separated on the east from Sullivan's Island, was protected by a party of militia, to prevent the landing of the British troops to assault the fort on the land side. The militia of the colony had obeyed the summons of the provincial authorities, and about six thousand of them garrisoned the city. Every preparation within the power of the colonies had been made, to meet the expected attack. *Lee*, who had so promptly met Clinton in New York, had pushed on with extraordinary celerity, and again anticipated him at Charleston. The fleet experienced considerable difficulty and damage in crossing the bar, and on the eighteenth of June, after vainly summoning by proclamation the people to return to their allegiance to the British crown, and offering them pardon on submission, the attempt was made to reduce the fort. The two fifty gun ships, the Bristol and the Experiment, with two frigates, formed a line, and com-

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menced a tremendous fire upon the works. The other three vessels were stranded and could not come into action, and one of them, the Acteon, was lost, and burnt on the succeeding morning. The fire of the ships was returned with amazing spirit and intrepidity by the Americans, and with such great effect, that the Bristol was soon very nearly disabled, and dreadful slaughter was made in all the attacking vessels. The shot from the fort struck with a precision, which excited the admiration even of the enemy, and was kept up until their whole ammunition was expended. The British thought the fort silenced, but a supply of powder was soon furnished from the town, and the fire hotly maintained during the whole day, and until nine o'clock in the evening, when darkness put an end to the combat on both sides. During the night the British ships, excepting the Acteon, which was ashore, slipped their cables and dropped two miles down the river. They had been severely handled; the total loss of men killed and wounded was 225, including Admiral Parker, slightly, and Lord William Campbell, recent governor, mortally wounded. The Americans lost only *ten* men killed, and *twenty-two* wounded.

During the hottest of the fight, the flag of the fort was carried away by a shot, when Serjeant Jasper leaped down to the beach, in the face of the cannonading, and after recovering the flag, climbed up and fixed it again on the battlement. For this heroic action, he afterwards received a sword from Governor Rutledge, which he gratefully accepted, and the offer of a commission which he modestly declined.

No serious attempt was made by the British to attack the fort on the land side. A few troops were disembarked, on Long Island, but being opposed by Colonel Thompson's corps, they remained inactive.

Not long afterwards, the fleet abandoned the expedition, and returned to New York, to wait the arrival of General Howe, from Halifax.

Congress and the people, expressed the highest admiration of the defence of Charleston, especially that of the fort, which has ever since borne the name of its intrepid defender, and is called Fort Moultrie. Congress passed a special vote of thanks to General Lee, and Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, for their gallant and successful defence.

Its permanent effects were, the entire derangement of the British military plans, and the security of the whole Southern States from invasion for more than two years. Its present influence was highly encouraging to the spirit of the colonies, affording them just cause for triumph over an adversary of superior force, and as a victory counterbalancing the loss of their previous conquests in Canada.

General Howe, having waited for nearly two months, at Halifax, with the troops he had withdrawn from Boston, in expectation of the arrival of his brother, and the additional troops from England, at last sailed without them, and arrived in the latter part of June, off Sandy Hook. Admiral Howe soon followed with a large part of the reinforcement, and a powerful force was thus concentrated upon New York, then in the possession of Washington. The city, and Long and Staten Islands, were found fortified and defended with artillery. General Howe was joined by Tryon, late governor of the province, and a small number of refugees. On Staten Island a regiment of the inhabitants was embodied as a royal militia, and the British general was led to believe, that a large part of the people would readily join the royal standard.

Additional troops arrived soon after, and a well appointed and numerous fleet and army collected before the city, the possession of which was considered a most important point for the subjugation of the middle colonies.

The gathering of these formidable armaments did, however, only precipitate the final measure, which consummated the Revolution. In the constitution of human nature, the political separation of the two countries must have happened at some period not very remote; but violent measures were required to break asunder suddenly and completely the numerous ties of affection, kindred, and interest, of common ancestry, common language, the same literature, learning, and the arts, which would have retained a mutual dependence and relation, long after all political necessity for union, had ceased. The arbitrary pretensions of the Parliament had now for twelve years, alarmed the colonists for the safety of their most essential rights, and taught them to look with jealousy and distrust upon all the constituted authorities of the mother country. Of late years these pretensions had been enforced with a haughty obstinacy and insulting disregard of the feelings and opinions of Ameri-

cans, which could not fail to wound deeply the pride, and exasperate the sensibilities of a people, remarkable for elevation and independence of character; and the actual means employed for that purpose, had been marked by atrocious brutality, by the most wanton disregard of laws, constitutions, the plainest dictates of justice and the claims of ordinary humanity, and by an evident determination to crush, with the strong arm of military power, the complaints, as well as the rights and privileges of America. To this had now succeeded twelve months of open hostilities, a state of notorious war in which the king's troops were resisted at all points, his officers deposed and driven out of the country, his fortresses taken, his ships captured, and every energy exerted to subvert altogether his power in America, as too tyrannical to be endured. At this point, Independence had become a fact, which needed only a declaration by competent authority, to be universally admitted among the colonies. To continue further professions of obedience to a king against whom they were defending their dearest rights, at the hazard of every thing, would have been not only a gross hypocrisy, inconsistent with manliness of character and firmness of principle, but would have been a political blunder, decidedly injurious to their prospects of success, and their hopes of aid in the struggle before them. They saw that a return to a cordial union with Great Britain, had become impossible under any circumstances; that violence, injustice, and wantonness of power on the one hand, and long continued dread, jealousy, anger, and finally hatred on the other, had made it vain to expect that harmony could ever be restored permanently, even with the most unlimited concessions by Great Britain. The recent acts of Parliament, and the concentration in America of such a vast force of English troops and foreign mercenaries, convinced them that no terms could be obtained short of submission without condition to foreign conquest, and a surrender of all they had been contending for as most precious, into the hands of triumphant conquerors.

Nothing therefore remained but to assume in the eyes of the world, that Independence, which their position in the controversy seemed so imperiously to require as a measure of honor and safety, and which existed in fact, in every colony that had subverted the king's powers, and assumed the functions of government. It was moreover considered

indispensable, in order to secure the aid of other European nations, in the struggle against England. The general dislike of continental Europe to the predominance of the power of Great Britain, gave just ground to anticipate their co-operation, sooner or later, in a war to deprive her of such immense possessions. Besides these merely political views, looking to the humbling of a powerful and dreaded rival, it was considered that commercial considerations would influence them to the same course. The great and growing trade of the American colonies, that had been monopolized by Great Britain, was a prize to the mercantile interests of other states, for which large efforts and sacrifices would be made. These calculations could not, however, be made in favor of dependent provinces, struggling in rebellion against acknowledged authority. Treaties could be entered into, and aid, of men or money, asked for sufficient to give force and dignity to the contest, only as independent states; and hence the policy of severing at once, by a formal act, all dependence upon Great Britain, and assuming an attitude of sovereignty.

Reasonings of this nature, gradually ripened the minds of the colonies, to the great revolutionary measure of independence. The course of events brought it on by a moral and political necessity. As the non-importation agreements of 1773-4, were followed by the assumption of arms in 1775, so the commencement of hostilities produced the declaration of independence. The public mind, under the constant excitement of wrongs and sufferings from the unnatural mother country, and heated and at the same time enlightened by the acute discussions, and impassioned appeals of able men in behalf of liberty and resistance, was prepared to take the final step. During the winter and spring of 1776, the press teemed with gazettes, pamphlets, and judicial charges, enforcing the necessity and urging the wisdom of independence. Eminent individuals in all the colonies, devoted their time and talents to the dissemination of the same principles. The pamphlet of Thomas Paine, entitled "Common Sense," had a wonderful effect, in diffusing plain and practical views of the question, expressed in a sententious and popular style. The charge of Judge Wm. H. Drayton of South Carolina, was remarkable for its boldness and effect. After drawing a contrast between the British government, and such a one as the colonists could erect for themselves,

and portraying in indignant terms the tyranny of Great Britian, he summed up thus emphatically:—"In short I think it my duty to declare in the awful seat of justice and before Almighty God, that in my opinion, the Americans can have no safety but by the Divine favour, their own virtue, and their being so prudent as not to leave it in the power of the British rulers to injure them. Indeed, the ruinous and deadly injuries received on our side; and the jealousies entertained and which, in the nature of things, must daily increase against us, on the other; demonstrate to a mind, in the least given to reflection upon the rise and fall of empires, that true reconcilement never can exist between Great Britain and America, the latter being in subjection to the former. The Almighty created America to be independent of Britain. Let us beware of the impiety of being backward to act as instruments in the Almighty hand, now extended to accomplish his purpose; and by the completion of which alone America, in the nature of human affairs, can be secure against the craft and insidious designs of her enemies, who think her prosperity and power already by far too great. In a word, our piety and political safety are so blended, that to refuse our labors in this divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious, and a happy people!

Soon after the prohibitory act reached America, congress made still further advances towards independence, by granting letters of marque and reprisal against the ships and goods of the inhabitants of Great Britain, and opening the ports to all the world, except those of Great Britain. In the same month, Silas Deane was sent as secret agent to the court of France, with instructions to ascertain the disposition of that court; "whether if the colonies should be forced to form themselves into an independent state, France would probably acknowledge them as such, receive their ambassadors, enter into any treaty or alliance with them for commerce, or defence, or both?" A few weeks later, they took a preliminary step of great importance, which plainly showed the design of a speedy declaration. In examining the advance of congress in this matter, it must be borne in mind that they acted by the implied consent of the colonies, and with authority which had no sanction but the acquiescence of the provincial conventions, or legislatures, many of which existed by the same tacit suf- March.

ferance without formal organization. The colonies were integral communities, independent of each other, and consequently, in all matters concerning their political existence, and forms of government and relations with each other or foreign nations, Congress only acted by the consent of each, express or implied. Its functions were in effect only advisory, though they had been universally recognized, under the emergencies of the times, as binding upon the good faith of the several provinces. In a step of such an extraordinary kind, as the assumption of independence, it is obvious that their power extended no further than the declaration of a fact, that each of those who joined in the assertion of the independence of all, was at the time absolutely independent in itself. Congress had on several occasions been applied to for advice, in regard to the internal administration of the separate colonies. In the fall of 1775, on the subversion of the royal governments, several of the provincial conventions, following the example of Massachusetts, had asked the counsel of congress as to the form of government proper to be adopted, and had received directions recommending popular representation and elective administrations; "during the continuance of the dispute with the parent country." At that time a considerable portion of the country, and some leading members of congress, thought even this limited assumption of the functions of government, too openly hostile to British authority, and prematurely leading to revolution. With scarcely an exception during the summer and autumn of that year, the provincial assemblies and conventions, disclaimed for themselves and for their constituents, the design of separating from Great Britain. Great changes of opinion, and infinitely more zeal and boldness in the avowal of opinions previously entertained, were brought about by the course of affairs during the parliamentary session of 1776 in Great Britain, and the campaigns arrayed against America for the same year, to conquer and enslave British colonies with the aid of hired soldiery from Germany.

In May, 1776, congress, following the advance of public opinion, recommended, without opposition of any moment,

May 10. | an indefinite extension of the same power in the provincial governments, the suggestion of which provisionally and for an interim, had only six months before alarmed the loyalty of the colonists. They advised the people not to consider themselves any longer as holding or

exercising any powers from Great Britain, but "to adopt such government as should in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and of America in general." By the preamble to this resolution, finally adopted five days afterwards, it was declared "irreconcilable with reason and good conscience" for the colonists to take the oaths for the support of government under the crown of Great Britain. They proclaimed the necessity of suppressing "the exercise of every kind of authority under the crown," and all power should be exerted "under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies." May 15.

About the same time, the colonial assemblies began to move in the great question, and give official sanction to what had become the general sentiment of America. North Carolina, on the 22d of April, made the first public act of any colonial assembly in favour of the measure, by instructing her delegates in congress "to concur with those in the other colonies in declaring independency"—a phrase which implies a general agitation of the question, and the expectation that it would shortly be brought before congress.

On the 14th of May, the general assembly of Massachusetts desired the people at the ensuing election of representatives, to give them instructions on the subject of independence; and on the 23d, the inhabitants of Boston, whose opinions reflect those of the whole colony, instructed their representatives that their delegates in congress be advised that the inhabitants of that colony "with their lives and the remnants of their fortunes, would most cheerfully support them in the measure" of declaring independence.

On the 15th of May, the provincial convention of Virginia unanimously *instructed* their delegates in congress, to propose to that body, to declare the United Colonies, "free and independent states; absolved from all allegiance or dependence upon the crown, or parliament of Great Britain." At the same time, without waiting for the declaration, they assumed the independence of Virginia, and appointed a committee to draw up a bill of rights, and form a constitution.

The assembly of Rhode Island, in the same month, adopted an oath of allegiance to the colony, and instructed their

delegates in congress to join in all measures which might be agreed on in congress, for the advancement of the interests, safety, and dignity of the colonies.

South Carolina and Georgia, with the colonies just mentioned, had taken active measures to procure a declaration of independence, before it was brought forward formally in that body. Pennsylvania and Maryland had declared against it, and the other delegates were without instructions; when,

June 7. | on the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered a resolution, declaring that "the United Colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them, and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

This resolution, so mighty in its character, and the vast importance of all its bearings, was debated for several days with extraordinary earnestness, eloquence, and ability. Mr. Lee, and John Adams, were the most distinguished in supporting the motion, and Mr. John Dickinson of Pennsylvania in opposing it. These were among the most able and eminent men the revolution had produced, and the full strength of their faculties was brought forth on so solemn and momentous an occasion. On the 10th the resolution was adopted in a committee by a bare majority of the colonies, and the final consideration was postponed to the first of July, to give time for greater deliberation, and for instructions from the colonial legislatures. A committee was appointed to draw up the declaration, consisting of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

In the interim, the friends of independence were ardent and indefatigable in their labours to procure the co-operation of such colonies as had not yet taken measures to express their concurrence, and to procure the assent of the colonies that hesitated or had refused.

On the 8th, the New York delegates wrote for instructions, but the provincial assembly not feeling themselves authorized to act, referred them in reply, to the people, who were desired to give instructions, at the election of legislators.

On the 15th, the New Hampshire assembly unanimously instructed their delegates to concur, and on the same day, a similar instruction was given by the Connecticut assembly,

who had specially convened for the purpose. On the 21st, new delegates were chosen from New Jersey, and instructed if they should deem it expedient, "to join in declaring the United Colonies independent."

In the same month the assembly of Pennsylvania withdrew their former instructions against independence, but did not expressly authorize concurrence. They took measures for obtaining an expression of the opinion of the people of the province; and a convention composed of committees from the counties, met at Philadelphia, on the 24th of June. This convention, without binding the delegates to a vote in favour of independence, voted to allow them a discretion, and expressed their own willingness to concur with the other colonies.

The delegates from Maryland had voted against Mr. Lee's motion, on instructions, and against their own personal wishes. They made strenuous efforts to procure a reversal of their instructions, and chiefly through the perseverance of Samuel Chase, a new convention was held on the 28th of June, and resolutions adopted empowering their representatives to concur with the other colonies, in the proposed declaration. These were sent express to Philadelphia, and reached there on the day appointed for the final determination of the question.

On the 1st of July, the debate was resumed, and continued for three days, and after deliberate discussion, was assented to by all the colonies, except Delaware and Pennsylvania. Thomas M'Kean and George Read were the delegates from Delaware present, and they were divided, M'Kean in favour of the declaration, and Read against it. The third delegate, Mr. Rodney, was absent during the discussion, but was sent for express, by his colleague M'Kean, a distance of eighty miles. He obeyed the call with such alacrity as to reach Philadelphia in time to determine the vote of Delaware on the side of independence. His haste, and the disordered condition in which he appeared in congress to give his vote, gave rise to the revolutionary toast of "Rodney in Boots;" which became popular among the whigs of the day.

Several delegates were present from Pennsylvania, four of whom voted against the resolution, and three in its favour. On the final vote, however, two of the opponents, Morris and Dickinson, withdrew, and the three affirmative votes,

Franklin, Wilson, and Morton, formed a majority against the remaining negatives, Willing and Humphrey, and turned the vote of the province.

July 4, 1776. These happy changes having been effected, the declaration prepared by the special committee, came up for final disposition, and on the 4th of July, received the assent of every colony. The committee appointed on the 11th to prepare a declaration, had agreed to make separate drafts, in order that all might be compared together, and a final declaration drawn up from them by the whole committee. That prepared by Mr. Jefferson, the chairman, was first read, and received with such admiration, that the other members declined producing their own, and unanimously adopted it, with but trifling verbal alterations. On the FOURTH, it received the assent of the thirteen colonies, in congress assembled after a few amendments :—in the following words:—

"A Declaration by the Representatives of the United *States* of America, in Congress assembled.

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the cause which compel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident :—that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are

accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states: to prove this, let facts be exhibited to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depositories of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the right of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolution, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise,—the state remaining in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the

tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

"For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

"For cutting off our trade, with all parts of the world:

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

"For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

"For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences:

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

"For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested in power to legislate for us, in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolution and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on

the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is, an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts, by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us; we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here; we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our seperation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

Copies of this declaration were immediately transmitted to all the states, and received with enthusiasm, and proclaimed with every demonstration of joy. Five days after its adoption, the legislature of New York, that had not previously acted, unanimously resolved, that the reasons of Congress for declaring Independence, were "cogent and unanswerable." At Philadelphia, when it was solemnly promulgated on the eighth, the artillery fired salutes, the bells rang a peal of triumph, and bonfires blazed all over the city. At New York it was on the eleventh, by order of General Washington, read to the head of every brigade in the army, amidst universal acclamations. The leaden statue of king George the Third, that had stood before the government house, was torn down, dragged through the streets, and converted into musket-balls. In Baltimore the like enthusiasm prevailed, and the populace marched an effigy of the king through the streets, and then burnt it. In Boston the most extravagant demonstrations were made, of almost delirious exultation. Salutes of thirteen guns were fired from every place, and by every company that possessed the means. All the authorities, civil and military, with a vast concourse of people, were collected together in King-street, and the Declaration read from the balcony of the State House, amidst deafening shouts and the roar of artillery. The name of King-street was changed to State-street, on the spot, and in the evening, the royal emblems throughout the town, crowns, sceptres, lions, &c. were torn down and burnt in triumph. In Virginia the like ardor prevailed; and the whole country hailed the Declaration as an act of liberation from slavery, and a victory over the institutions of despotism.

We cannot better illustrate these feelings than by an extract from a private letter, written on the morning after the vote in favour of Independence, by *John Adams*, to his wife, published many years afterwards. It shows the warmth of temperament which pervaded the patriot bosoms of that day: the sagacity with which coming evils were foreseen, and courageous confidence with which they were defied.

"The day is past. The fourth day of July, 1776, will be a memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations, as the great Anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp,

shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward for ever.

"You will think me transported with enthusiasm; but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that it will cost us to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these states. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of light and glory; I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph, although you and I may rue, which I hope we shall not."

It was not, however, possible, in the nature of human affairs, that so complete a revolution could be made with perfect unanimity. Many individuals, from various reasons, refused to acquiesce in the decision of the mass of the people, and continued to acknowledge and adhere to British authority. Persons of this description were called Tories and enemies to their country; and were so unpopular, that in many instances they were illegally siezed and violently abused by the people. Before the declaration of independence, Congress had been compelled to interfere in their behalf, and pass resolutions to protect them from disturbances, except when taken in an overt-act of hostility to American liberty, or under circumstances of strong presumption. The resolution, already alluded to, declaring the Americans absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, passed in June, recognised the obligation of allegiance to the separate colonies, from all persons residing within the same; and therefore liable only to the colonial tribunals for violations of this duty. On the 21th, these principles were followed up more specifically by a declaration that "all persons abiding within any of the United Colonies, and deriving protection from the laws of the same, owed allegiance to the said laws, and were members of said colony.' And further, that all persons, members of any colony, who should levy war against any of the said colonies, or adhere to its enemies, "*within the same*," were "guilty of treason against such colony." It was further recommended to the legislatures of the several colonies, to provide laws for the punishment of such "*treasons*." No more explicit avowal of the separate sovereignty of the individual colonies, in fact, before the joint declaration, could be advanced. After the declaration, the states, or most of them, on the same or

similar suggestions, confiscated the estates of Tories, and adherents to Great Britain, and passed special laws inflicting severe punishments on all acts of hostility, and the punishment of death for treason.

The disasters to the arms of America, which followed the declaration of independence, increased the number of malcontents, and weakened the force of the country. The mass of the inhabitants, however, stood firm in the cause; and the consistency and courage of Congress, with the unequalled virtues of the Commander-in-chief, who held the destinies of the country in his hand for a long and critical period, sustained and invigorated the popular determination to a final triumph over foreign and domestic enemies.

In its proper place, hereafter, we shall trace the history of the *Confederation* among the colonies, which took its rise out of the new state of separate sovereignty, in which the declaration of independence placed them. So obvious was the necessity of some such compact, that on the 12th of June, the next day after that in which the resolution in favour of independence passed the committee of the whole, Congress determined to appoint a committee to prepare and digest a form of Confederation; and on the 13th the committee was selected, consisting of Mr. Bartlett, of New Hampshire, Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, R. R. Livingston, of New York, John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, Thomas M'Kean, of Delaware, Mercer, of Maryland, Nelson, of Virginia, Hewes, of North Carolina, Rutledge, of South Carolina, and Gwinnett, of Georgia. This committee reported a plan of Confederacy on the 12th of July. After discussions and amendments, an amended draft was reported late in August, and the whole subject then laid over until April of the next year, and was not finally adopted until November, 1777, under which date, a review of its progress and details more properly belongs.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE position of American affairs, at the date of the declaration of independence, was not encouraging. The repulse of Clinton from Charleston was a gallant action, but did not counterbalance the reverses in Canada. A very powerful force by sea and land was concentrating on the city of New York, where the means for defence were very inadequate. Admiral Howe joined his brother at Staten Island on the 12th July. About the same time, General Clinton arrived with the troops which had attacked Charleston, and Admiral Hotham with a strong reinforcement under his escort. The army, in a short time, amounted to 24,000 of the best troops in Europe, to whom several regiments of Hessian infantry were expected to be added; making the aggregate not less than 35,000 men.

To oppose these, the American General had a force, consisting chiefly of undisciplined and badly provided militia, amounting in number to about seventeen thousand men. Deducting for invalids and those without means for going into active service, the effective force, at no time previous to the battle of Long Island, was greater than fourteen thousand. These were necessarily divided into detachments and parties on New York, Long and Governor's Islands, and Paulus Hook, upon the Jersey shore of the Hudson, opposite the city,—a space extending over fifteen miles.

While waiting for reinforcements, Admiral and General Howe, who were commissioners under the late act of the British parliament, undertook, in their civil capacity, to open negotiations for a re-union between the countries. The declaration of independence probably hastened their anxiety to improve what they thought would be the alarms of the timid, on the first promulgation of so bold a measure.

In the month of June, while on the coast of Massachusetts, Lord Howe had issued circulars to the royal governors of the provinces for distribution, explaining the commission with which he and his colleagues were charged. These were to grant "general or particular pardons to all those who, though they had deviated from their allegiance, were

willing to return to their duty." Congress, on the receipt of these and subsequent documents of a like character, took the bold step of ordering them to be published and circulated for the purpose of showing the insulting nature of the powers and the absence of all concession to the rights that had been so strenuously claimed. The reason assigned in the resolution for publication was, that the good people of the United States "might see the terms, with the expectation of which the insidious court of Great Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them;" and that "the few, who still remained suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of their late king, might now at length be convinced that the valor alone of their country could save its liberties."

A more direct attempt at negotiation was made on the
July 14. | 14th, by a flag of truce, which brought a letter
| from General Howe, addressed simply to George Washington, Esq. without official designation. This was refused, not, as General Washington informed Congress, upon a mere point of personal punctilio, but because, in a "public point of view," it was due to his "country and appointment," to insist upon respect to the Commander-in-chief of the American forces. Congress applauded his course, and directed by resolution, that no letter nor communication from the enemy should be received by any officer whatever, unless directed to him properly in his official capacity.

A second letter, brought by Adjutant-general Patterson, addressed to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c." was in like manner declined. To the remark that these *et ceteras* implied every thing, and were not liable to the previous objection, Washington replied, that they also implied any thing; and he should in consequence refuse to receive all communication not explicitly acknowledging his public capacity. Gen. Patterson concluded a long conference, managed on both sides with great dignity and courtesy, by remarking, that the commissioners had "great powers," and would be happy to effect an accommodation. "Their powers," rejoined Washington, "are only to grant pardons. They who have committed no fault, want no pardon." This peremptory rejection of the views with which the royal commissioners came charged, closed their attempts to negotiate upon the ground of pardon. A correspondence was afterwards opened between the two generals, with regard to the treatment of

prisoners, on both sides, in which the proper direction was scrupulously given, according to the claims made by General Washington.

The British forces were in the mean time by no means idle. On the 12th, two of their ships had forced their way up the Hudson, and taken a position near Tarrytown. The military in the counties along the shore, were directed to oppose them, under the command of the American General *Clinton*. An attempt was made to dislodge them, with some American ships and gallies, but without success. The continual arrival of fresh troops strengthened the invading force; and on the close of the attempt at negotiation, it was resolved to make a bold, and it was hoped, final movement against the American position.

Within the camp of Washington, the difficulties and embarrassments were of the most distressing and sometimes threatening nature. The militia, upon which he was compelled to rely, had not learned the necessary habits of military subordination: they were sometimes exceedingly turbulent, and generally very ill provided with arms, ammunition, food; and for a while, a feud of an alarming character, raged between the eastern troops on the one side, and the southern and middle troops on the other, which required all the firmness and sagacity of the general to appease. A plot was detected, the seat of which was in the interior of New York, for betraying the patriots to the British, which was quelled by the exertions of General Schuyler. Dissensions sprung up between the officers, about precedence of rank; and, to crown all the evils of necessity, insubordination, disaffection, and want, which afflicted the raw recruits—pestilence was added. The small-pox attacked them virulently, and before the 1st of August, one-third of the army was on the sick list. The reinforcements called for by the general, at the time, came in slowly and with all the same deficiencies. The exertions of Washington, aided by Congress, were most persevering, indefatigable, and sagacious. With such means, he contrived to keep the enemy in check for more than a month; and, for a while, baffled the plans of a force three times his own in magnitude, of well disciplined and well supplied soldiery. On the 22d of July, Congress authorized an exchange of prisoners, rank for rank; at the same time recognising the right of each state to make exchanges for itself, of prisoners taken under its own authority: and on the

same day voted to emit *five millions* of dollars in bills of credit. On the 9th of August, resolutions were adopted for encouraging the Hessians and other foreigners in the British service to desert, in the phrase adopted, "to quit that iniquitous service."

Being in daily expectation of an attack from the English forces, General Washington had been anxiously preparing for it at every point, by which it was thought they would approach. The charge of the American defences on Long Island had been given originally to General Greene, one of the best officers in the service, and who distinguished himself so highly in the course of the war. Upon his falling sick, the command devolved upon General Sullivan. The attack which was made on the 27th, was directed against the works constructed under the direction of General Greene, enclosing the village of Brooklyn, which is on the side of Long Island opposite the city of New York. They extended from the Wallabout Bay, on the left, above the city, across the peninsula, to the Red Hook, below the city, where the passage called the Narrows communicates between the Bay of New York and the ocean. Within the Narrows lies Governor's Island, which was also fortified. The village of Brooklyn, lying within these lines, was occupied by the American force under General Sullivan. Between them and the opposite parts of the Island, where the enemy could land, was a range of hills, commencing at the Narrows, and extending easterly for about six miles, and terminating near Jamaica. These hills were thickly wooded. Three roads passed through them, accessible to soldiery: one near the Narrows, a second by the village of Flatbush, and a third called the Bedford road. Another road from the south side of the Island avoided the hills entirely, by passing around the eastern extremity, called the Jamaica road. The passes through the hills had been carefully guarded by corps of eight hundred men each, and Colonel Miles, with a battalion of riflemen, was stationed to watch the Jamaica road, and keep open a communication between the passes.

The British forces had landed on the 22d, and on the evening of the 26th of August, the Hessians, under command of Gen. De Hiester, occupied the village of Flatbush. This formed the centre of the British force in the battle of the next day. General Grant commanded the left, towards the Narrows, and General Clinton, with Lords

Aug. 26.

Cornwallis and Percy, led the right, which was the main point of attack, along the Jamaica road. The British plan was to make brisk attacks with their left and centre, upon the opposing American lines, to direct their attention from the chief object, which was to turn the American left, and take their whole force in flank by surprise. The plan succeeded. General Grant, who commanded the British left advanced upon the American forces, who instantly fled; and a few of them were with difficulty rallied until Lord Sterling had collected about fifteen hundred men, with whom he made a stand, about two miles from the camp. About daylight, the Hessians from Flatbush advanced, simultaneously, with Gen. Grant's division, and the whole American forces were soon hotly and resolutely engaged with them. General Washington had reinforced the troops at Brooklyn, and given the command there to General Putnam, who, under the persuasion that the body of the enemy were advancing by these routes, sent succors to Lord Sterling and Gen. Sullivan.

General Clinton and his force had in the mean time gained their object. In the preceding night he had marched for the Jamaica defile, and before day surprised the Americans, who were stationed to wait the approach of the enemy, seized the pass, and having occupied the heights, descended in the morning into the plains on the side of Brooklyn Having thus turned the American position two miles in the rear of the detachment of Colonel Miles, he fell upon their left, which was engaged with the Hessians. The sound of the cannon was the first intelligence they had of this fatal disaster, and they immediately broke and endeavoured to reach the camp. In this they were intercepted by General Clinton, and driven back upon the Hessians; and thus several times they were charged with great fury on both sides, and finally hemmed in by the English and Hessians, advancing in opposite directions. Some regiments, concentrating themselves, made a desperate charge, and cutting their way through the enemy with great loss, reached the camp. The broken troops still maintained some skirmishing fights, along the hills and ravines, but the American left and centre were totally routed.

The right under Lord Sterling continued to maintain a resolute conflict with the British left, for six hours, until the victorious troops under Clinton had traversed their rear and surrounded them. A gallant charge was made by Sterling,

in person, at the head of the Maryland regiment, which behaved with extraordinary courage, and were nearly all cut to pieces. The charge had nearly succeeded in routing Cornwallis in person, when overwhelming succors arrived, and the brave detachment were either cut to pieces or made prisoners. A retreat had been ordered, and this spirited assault gave opportunity for a large proportion of the troops to escape. The loss was however great; many were drowned in attempting to cross the creek in their rear, and not a few were stifled in the mud.

In the heat of the action, Washington passed over to Brooklyn, to aid in rallying the soldiers, but the defeat was irreparable. He was compelled to witness the slaughter of his best troops, without the possibility of saving them, or remedying the disasters of the day. The enemy pursued the routed Americans to the lines at Brooklyn, but did not attempt an assault. On the next day, determining to carry the works by regular approaches, ground was broke within a few hundred yards of a redoubt.

General Washington was anxious for an assault upon his entrenchments by the British. The greater part of his troops had been transported to the Island, and he knew how much better they could be depended upon for the repulse of an assault, and the defence of fortifications, than for manœuvres in the open field. But he was no less sensible that his position could not be kept against a regular siege by an enemy so superior in numbers, and well provided with all the materials and tools. Heavy rains continued to fall, and his men were without tents and shelter. The fleet of the enemy too, had made movements indicating a design to force a passage up the East river, and thus cut off the communication with the city of New York. Had such a plan succeeded, the situation of the army would have been desperate. An immediate retreat from the Island was thereupon determined on, and was accordingly executed on the evening of the 29th, with extraordinary secrecy and celerity, and complete success. The embarcation commenced soon after dark, at
Aug. 29. two points, under the direction of Gen. M'Dougal and Col. Knox. The precise object of the expedition was carefully concealed from the troops themselves; and in the space of thirteen hours, an army of nine thousand men, with all their field artillery, tents, baggage, and camp equipage, were conveyed over the East river to the city of New York,

a river nearly a mile wide, without the knowledge or suspicion of the British, who were at work not more than five hundred yards distant. The commencement of the embarcation had been unpropitious: the state of the tide and the prevalence of a strong northeast wind, made their sail-boats useless, and the number of row-boats was totally inadequate About eleven o'clock, with the change of tide, the wind changed to the southeast, which made the communication easy and rapid. Very luckily, towards morning, a thick fog, an unusual appearance, sprung up and covered the shores, under the protection of which, the retreat was carried on undiscovered by the enemy, for some hours after the dawn of day. By a mistake in the transmission of orders, the American lines were totally evacuated for three quarters of an hour before the embarcation was complete; but the British, though actually at work at a short distance, did not perceive it; and General Mifflin returned and re-occupied them until every thing except some heavy pieces of ordnance was removed, and then got off safe with his own detachment. When the fog finally cleared off, the last boat-load of the rear guard were seen crossing the river, out of the reach of the enemy's fire.

The consequences of the battle of Long Island, and the retreat, were very dispiriting to the American general, and cast a most gloomy cloud over American affairs. The troops lost confidence in themselves and distrusted their officers. They became desponding, intractable—sometimes almost mutinous, and deserted in great numbers. Whole companies and sometimes regiments abandoned the army en masse. General Washington became early impressed with the conviction that the city could not be maintained, and the movements of the enemy strengthened him daily in this belief. They were making approaches by their ships up both rivers and it was doubtful whether their intention was to assault the lines, or to land at Kingsbridge, where the island of New York is connected with the main land, and thus enclose the Americans. To guard against the imminent danger, the stores, not of pressing necessity, were removed to Dobbs' Ferry, beyond Kingsbridge, and about twenty-six miles from New York; and on the 7th of September, a council of war was held to deliberate upon the expediency of the retreat. A majority decided against that measure, and voted to carry on a war of posts, in order, if

Sept. 7.

possible, to detain the enemy during the remainder of the campaign, in the struggle to possess York Island. The question was seriously agitated, whether, if compelled to abandon the city, it would not be proper to burn it, in order to deprive the enemy of all advantage in possessing it. On the 12th, a second council of war determined in favour of immediate evacuation. This was hastened by the landing of a considerable force at Kipp's Bay, a day or two afterwards, and a defeat which the Americans sustained there.

General Howe landed a detachment, under cover of several men-of-war, on the east side of New York Island, on the 15th September, about three miles above the city, between South Bay and Kipp's Bay. Works had been erected to oppose them, and troops stationed there sufficient to oppose the landing, until reinforcements could arrive; but at the first approach of the British, the works were shamefully abandoned without the firing of a single gun in defence. Two brigades had been sent to support them; and Washington followed in person, to retrieve the disasters and animate the troops. His efforts were in vain—he met the whole party in precipitate and cowardly flight from an inconsiderable number of the enemy; and neither exhortations, entreaties, menaces, nor violence, could induce them to rally. He threatened and expostulated; and, with an excitement unusual in his steady and well-tempered mind, attempted to cut down some of the most eager in flight; and finally, losing his self-possession, hazarded his own person in front of the pursuing enemy, and was scarcely restrained from rashly throwing away his own life in a desperate attempt to check the dastardly flight of his soldiers. He was led unwillingly off of the field by his aids and confidential friends, in great distress of mind. On this only occasion, in his whole public career, did he suffer his feelings to overcome the firmness of his temper.

In consequence of this failure, the evacuation of the city was made in haste. It was accomplished with little loss of men; but most of the heavy artillery and some stores were unavoidably left behind, and the city was immediately occupied by General Howe. The forces which had retreated from Kipp's Bay, took up their position at Harlæm, where the rear guard, under General Putnam, joined them, from the city, having eluded the British by avoiding the main road, and directing their march along the banks of the North river. The new British position extended

Sept. 16.

across the island, at Bloomingdale, about five miles north of the city. The encampment was flanked on each extreme by the North and East rivers, and covered by ships of war. The Americans were posted in their greatest strength at Kingsbridge, which secured their communications with the country. M'Gowan's Pass and Morris Heights were also fortified; and a camp fortified and garrisoned at Harlæm Heights, within a mile and a half of the enemy. The day after the retreat from New York, a skirmish took place between advanced parties of the armies, in which the Americans behaved with great intrepidity, and gained a decided advantage over the enemy. The troops engaged were rangers under the command of Colonel Knowlton, of Connecticut, and three Virginia companies under Major Leitch. Both of these officers fell mortally wounded; but their soldiers gallantly continued the attack, and drove a superior force of the enemy from their position, with considerable loss. The benefit of this affair was great in inspiriting the army, and reviving their confidence in themselves.

The royal commissioners, Admiral and General Howe foiled in their attempt at negotiation with the authorities of the new States, commenced addressing themselves directly to the people, promising in behalf of the king, a revision of all the regulations in trade, and a general reconsideration of all acts by which the Americans might think themselves aggrieved. Under two successive proclamations of this kind, a number of timid citizens of New York, impelled perhaps by the gloomy state of the affairs of Independence, signed declarations of allegiance, and presented petitions praying to be received into his majesty's peace and protection. Congress, to counteract this tendency, established an American Oath of Allegiance, requiring of every officer to acknowledge the thirteen United States as "free, independent, and sovereign States, and to abjure all allegiance or obedience to the king of Great Britain." Other royal proclamations followed, charging and commanding all persons assembled in arms against his majesty's government to disperse, and return to their dwellings; and ordering all conventions and congresses to desist from their treasonable proceedings, and relinquish their "usurped authority." Full pardons were promised to all who should subscribe the declaration of allegiance within thirty days; under advantage of which many Americans, in the imme-

diate vicinity of the British troops, and among them Galloway and Allen, who were members of congress in 1774, abandoned their country and joined the British standard. Counter proclamations were issued by Washington, under the directions of Congress, granting liberty to those who preferred "the interest and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country," to withdraw within the enemy's lines, but demanding the surrender of all British protections within thirty days, at head quarters, under penalty of being considered "common enemies of the American states."

The line was most rigidly drawn between the friends and enemies of Independence; and the determination of Congress and the Commander-in-chief grew more resolute as the war grew more adverse.

The two armies continued without change of position for some weeks: from the 15th of September, when the city was occupied by the British, till the middle of October. The arduous and embarrassing duties of the field were not the most trying of the difficulties which engaged the time and attention of Washington. The deplorable situation of the army, which was constantly on the point of dissolution from defect of organization, and want of almost every necessary, was a distressing subject of representation to Congress in his daily letters and remonstrances. The time for which enlistments had been made, was rapidly passing, and the misfortunes of the campaign had discouraged many even of the most ardent. The imprudence with which Congress had relied upon the enthusiasm of the people, to re-fill the ranks at short periods, combined with the expectation of a speedy end to the conflict,—an expectation which was now weakened if not totally destroyed,—had left them the prospect of being deserted by the army precisely at the moment when affairs were most gloomy, and a united effort was most necessary. The mischiefs of this temporizing plan at last forced the conviction upon Congress, that the cause of American liberty must be despaired of unless a permanent force could be depended upon, till the end of the war. At last, on the 16th of September, they passed a resolution for the formation of a regular army, to be enlisted to serve during the war. This was afterwards modified so as to admit of engagements for three years or during the war. The inadequacy of the pay and emoluments, which had formed an anxious subject of representation by Washington, was taken into consideration,

and a scale adopted more likely to give the service an honorable and efficient character. A bounty of twenty dollars to privates and non-commissioned officers was agreed upon; and grants of land to officers and soldiers who served out the whole enlistment, promised in the following proportions:—Five hundred acres to a Colonel; four hundred and fifty to a Lieutenant Colonel; four hundred to a Major; three hundred to a Captain; two hundred to a Lieutenant; one hundred and fifty to an Ensign; and one hundred to non-commissioned officers and privates. The appointment of all, except general officers, and the filling of vacancies was left to the state governments. Each state was to provide arms, and clothing, and every necessary for its quota, to be deducted from the pay of the soldiers. The army was to consist of eighty-eight battalions, furnished thus:—New Hampshire, three battalions; Massachusetts Bay, fifteen; Rhode Island, two; Connecticut, eight; New York, four; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, twelve; Delaware, one; Maryland, eight; Virginia, fifteen; North Carolina, nine; South Carolina, six; Georgia, one.

These vigorous measures were, in the end, of material advantage; but the effect could not be immediate. They were not adopted till late in the year, and in the interval the deepest distress prevailed in every department of public service. The winter was approaching, and the few necessaries and clothing of the soldiery were not only meager in quantity and kind, but totally unfitted for the rigors of the season.

The dignity and firmness of Congress, under these adverse circumstances, was equally sustained in a contemporary correspondence with Lord Howe, on the subject of an accommodation of the difficulties, opened by him immediately after the battle of Long Island. General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner, was paroled by the British general, and entrusted with a verbal message to Congress to the effect, that he could not treat with them in that character then; that he was extremely anxious to come to some accommodation speedily, while, as yet, no decisive advantage had been gained by either party, and it could not be said that either had been conquered into acquiescence or submission; that he would hold a conference with any of their members as private gentlemen; that he was, with the admiral, fully authorized to settle all differences in an honorable manner; that, were they to treat, many things which the Americans had not yet asked,

might and ought to be granted; and if upon a conference there appeared any probable ground of accommodation, that the authority of Congress would be afterwards acknowledged to render the treaty complete. General Sullivan communicated this message to Congress, on the 2d of September, and was directed to reduce it to writing. At the same time, tidings of the disastrous result of the battle and the retreat of the army were officially communicated: but Congress stood fast
Sept. 5. | in their determination. Three days afterwards they | directed General Sullivan to communicate to Lord Howe their reply—that "Congress, being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, they cannot with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing a peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress, for that purpose, in behalf of America, and what that authority is; and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make concerning the same."

Doctor Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, were appointed the commissioners, and they accordingly met Lord Howe by appointment, at Staten Island, a few
Sept. 11. | days after. The conference was conducted with | perfect courtesy and dignity by both parties, and ended, as was expected, by the American envoys, without any approach to an accommodation. In their report to Congress they stated, that it did not appear that his lordship's commission contained any other authority than that contained in the act of parliament, which was merely a power to grant pardons and offer amnesty on submission. They concluded with expressing the opinion, that "any expectation from the effort of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied upon by America, even had she continued in her state of dependence." Howe put an end to the conference by expressing a regard for the Americans, and the extreme pain he should suffer, in being compelled to inflict upon them the calamities of war. Doctor Franklin replied by thanking him for his civility, and promising him in return, "that the Americans would show their gratitude by endeavoring to lessen, as much as possible, all the pain he might feel on their account, by exerting their utmost abilities to take good care of themselves." Congress approved

of the conduct and language of their delegates; and the issue of the conference, was beneficial to the general cause. The firmness of the leaders of the revolution was tried and found immovable. The final concessions of the British were made, and instantly rejected, as totally inadequate to the universal demands of the country in the most disheartening circumstances. The magnanimous determination, not to negotiate for worse terms after defeat, than had been demanded before the battle, raised the moral character of the contest and of the actors, and infused a loftier spirit into the public councils.

In the month of October, the military affairs of the States assumed a still more gloomy aspect, from the increase of the British force, by the arrival of the additional Hessian regiments. The army of Howe then amounted to about thirty-seven thousand men, and he soon after resolved upon more active measures to compel the Americans to abandon their fortified camp. He prudently determined not to try an assault upon their position; but having by means of his fleet, and his great superiority in numbers, the command of both rivers, he adopted the plan of transporting part of his army above Kingsbridge and forming an encampment in the rear of the American lines. Had this plan succeeded, Washington would have been completely cut off from all communication with the country, and forced to fight a general battle at an immense disadvantage. Having fortified Gowan's hill, and left a strong force, consisting of English and Hessian troops, under the command of Lord Percy, for the defence of New York, Howe dispatched three frigates up the North river, to interrupt the American communications with New Jersey. They forced their way without much injury, past the American forts Lee and Washington, and without impediment from the cheveaux-de-frise that had been sunk in the river. The great body of his troops were then embarked in flat bottom boats, on the East river, and passing through Hurlgate were landed at Throgg's Neck, in Westchester county, near the village of Westchester. He delayed there till the 18th, in recruiting his troops, and repairing the roads and bridges, which had been broken up by the Americans. This movement produced an immediate change in the position of the American army. General Lee had arrived in the camp, and at a council of war, held on the 16th, he urged the evacuation of the whole island at once, and the retreat of the

Oct. 12.

army to Westchester. Lee also advised the evacuation of Fort Washington, and Washington was inclined to the same opinion; but the advice of General Greene prevailed, and it was determined to leave that garrison, consisting of three thousand men, to withstand and retard the operations of the enemy, and aid, in conjunction with Fort Lee, on the Jersey side, in keeping the navigation of the river open for the transportation of supplies. With the exception of these forts, the whole force was accordingly withdrawn from the island of New York, and extended along the North river, towards White Plains, its left always reaching beyond the British right. During this change, Washington continually presented a front to the enemy, who had commenced their advance towards New Rochelle, on the 18th, thus protecting his rear, along which the sick, the baggage, cannon, ammunition, and stores, were transported in comparative safety.

His line then presented a chain of small, entrenched and unconnected camps, occupying successively every height and rising ground, from Valentine's Hill, about a mile from Kingsbridge, on the right, extending almost to White Plains on the left.

Numerous skirmishes took place, between small parties of the troops, until the 25th, on which day General Howe advanced his whole force, taking a strong position on the river Bronx, and made demonstrations of a design to attack the American camp. He threw forward a large corps of English and Hessians under General Leslie, and Colonels Donop, and Rahl, to drive a force of sixteen hundred men under General McDougal, from a commanding eminence on the opposite side of the river, and thus open a way for an assault on the centre and right of the main body. The defence was maintained with great spirit, but finally the American were overpowered and driven in with great loss. The day was however so far spent in the struggle, that General Howe could not follow up the attack. He kept his army under arms in front of the American lines, ready to renew the fight in the morning. During the night Washington changed his front, his left keeping their post, while the right fell back, and entrenched themselves on a range of hills, in a position too strong to be assailed. The British general thought it necessary to wait for a reinforcement from New York, before he prosecuted his march, and drew off his forces towards Dobb's Ferry.

Oct. 28.

A heavy rain which fell a day or two afterwards, further postponed his designs. On the first of November, he had made his preparations for an attack, aiming evidently to secure the high grounds in the American rear. But the night previous, Washington, who had anticipated this movement, secured his baggage and stores, and suddenly changed his camp again, taking up a very strong ground at North Castle, about five miles from White Plains. On the following morning the English took possession of the American camp; and finding it impossible to force the Americans to fight a general battle, except upon the most unequal terms, General Howe, a few days afterwards, discontinued his pursuit, and turned his forces against the fortressess still in the occupation of the Americans in the neighbourhood of New York. The principal of these was Fort Washington, on the New York side of the North river, against which the first efforts were directed. The fate of this post was looked to with great anxiety by General Washington. To General Greene, to whom the command of that portion of the army had been committed, he gave discretionary powers, advising him to evacuate the fort in case he should find it not in a situation to sustain an assault. Greene thought the fort tenable, and retreat to the opposite bank of the river, to Fort Lee, practicable, in case of extremity, and determined to sustain the attack. The anxiety of Washington increased, and leaving General Lee in command of the eastern militia, on the left bank of the Hudson, and securing the strong positions at Peekskill and on Croton river, he crossed to New Jersey with the main body of the army, and went to join the camp of General Greene at Fort Lee. He called upon the governor of New Jersey to hold the militia in readiness, and directed the removal of the stores and heavy baggage to a safe distance. These precautions were hardly taken, before the English army was concentrated towards the fort, and on the 15th, it was invested, and the garrison, under the command of Colonel Magaw, summoned to surrender. On his refusal, with a declaration of his resolution to resist to the last extremity, the besiegers proceeded to the assault in four divisions. The first in the north was commanded by General Kniphausen, and was composed of Hessians; the second, on the eastern side, was made by two battalions of guards, supported by Lord Cornwallis, with a body of grenadiers and the thirty-third regiment. These

Nov. 15.

two parties crossed Hærlem creek, in boats, and landed on the American right. The third attack, meant as a feint, was conducted by Lieutenant Colonel Stirling, with the forty second. The fourth division was under Lord Percy, with his reinforcements from the south of the island. Each party was supported by a powerful and well served artillery.

Soon after daybreak the next morning the firing commenced, and continued during a great part of the day. The Hessian division, moving down from Kingsbridge, penetrated in two columns, the first of which ascended the hill circuitously, and having forced the American outworks, formed within a hundred yards of the covered way in front. The other column climbed the hill in a direct line, through a wood, occupied by Colonel Rawling's regiment of riflemen, and after hard fighting and some severe repulses, drove in the American defenders into the fort. Lord Percy assaulted the works on the south, and while he was engaged with the first line of defence, the third division had succeeded in forcing a landing against a heavy cannonading, and penetrated with great difficulty against an obstinate defence, into the second line, thus intercepting the American force, and making numerous prisoners. On all sides the American outworks were forced, and the whole garrison driven within the walls of the fort, or under the guns. The British general again summoned Colonel Magaw to surrender. Finding the post no longer tenable against such a superior force, he surrendered himself and the garrison prisoners of war, and gave up the Fort. The number of prisoners was stated by Washington in his offical account at 2000. The British account made it 2600. The difference is accounted for on the supposition that Washington only included the regular troops. Much censure was cast upon the Commandant for his mode of defence, and his precipitation in yielding. Notice was sent him by Washington to hold out until evening, when measures would be taken to bring him off, but the negotiations had proceeded too far to allow of retracting, had the situation of the garrison rendered it possible. The American general has also been censured, for not ordering the evacuation of the Fort, as soon as it had been rendered useless by the occupation of the country above by the enemy. The error in Washington was not in misunderstanding the proper military movements, but in allowing his own judgment to be overruled by others. He was opposed to the

plan of maintaining the fort, recommended to the council of war, and carried by Greene, but yielded to the majority.

The immediate abandonment of Fort Lee became necessary, and orders were issued for the removal of the stores and ammunition. But Lord Cornwallis crossed the river above so promptly with a large force amounting to 6000 men, that an instant retreat was ordered, with the loss of stores, ammunition, tents, and camp equipage, to a very large amount. The Americans retired precipitately behind the Hackensack river, with daily diminishing forces. The losses at Forts Washington and Lee had had a most disheartening effect, and the troops deserted or abandoned their commander, in large numbers daily. Not more than three thousand could be mustered on commencing the retreat through Jersey, and they were miserably clothed, destitute of provisions, pay, tents, ammunition, and of the greater number the term of service was nearly up, and no persuasions could prevail upon them to re-enlist. The troops of the Northern army under General Schuyler were ordered to join, but the term of service expired before they reached the encampment, and few remained. Earnest calls were made on the States for quotas of militia, but ineffectually. General Armstrong was dispatched to the interior of Pennsylvania, General Mifflin to Philadelphia, and Colonel Read to the interior of New Jersey, to procure reinforcements, and peremptory and repeated orders were dispatched to Gen. Lee, who had been left in New York, to cross the Hudson and join Washington with his troops. He delayed obeying, and at last, after entering New Jersey, carelessly taking up his quarters at a distance from his soldiers, he was surprised and taken prisoner by a party of British dragoons. This however did not take place till the 13th of December, after Washington had crossed the Delaware, where General Sullivan led the detachment to join the Commander-in-chief.

Nov. 18.

The retreat through the Jerseys to the crossing of the Delaware was the most disastrous period of the war. A scanty, destitute, desponding and diminishing force, scarcely amounting to three thousand at the highest, was pushed by a triumphant, well disciplined, and abundantly supplied army of thirty thousand. As the British advanced, the Americans retreated towards the Delaware, occasionally making a stand to show a front to the enemy and retard his advance. It frequently happened, that as the rear of the Americans

left a village on one side, the advance guard of the British entered it at the other. The last proclamation of the Howes appeared during this gloomy retreat, and produced considerable defection on the line of march. To add to the embarrassments of the American general, an insurrection broke out in Monmouth county, which required the aid of a party of his troops to repress it. The only encouraging circumstance, in the distressing time, was the arrival of some reinforcements from Philadelphia, with which he kept the British in check for a short time, and pressed forward upon Princeton, to give an opportunity for conveying his sick, stores, and baggage, such as were left him, across the Delaware.

Affairs prospered no better with the Americans in other quarters.

On the very day that Washington crossed the Delaware, General Clinton, with two brigades of British and two of Hessian troops, and the squadron under Sir Peter Parker, took possession of Newport in Rhode Island, and blockaded Commodore Hopkins, with his squadron and a number of privateers, in Providence. The chief object of this movement was to prevent the New England states from reinforcing Washington. It had that effect—six thousand troops under General Lincoln, which were already on the march, were detained to watch the enemy at home. Another object was to interrupt the privateering business; this also was effected. But such inconsiderable objects were purchased too dearly. From three to five thousand of the best British troops were kept in a state of inactivity for nearly three years.

By the approach of the British army, the deliberations of Congress were disturbed, and on the 12th of December they adjourned from Philadelphia to Baltimore, where they met on the 20th. Before their adjournment they vested General Washington with almost unlimited powers, "to order and direct all things relating to the department, and to the operations of war." They especially authorized him to levy sixteen additional battalions of infantry, three regiments of artillery, three thousand light-horse, and a corps of engineers, to appoint officers, establish their pay, to call the militia into service, and, in short, gave to him the absolute direction of military affairs for six months. The other proceedings of Congress, will be noticed after bringing up to this date, the military events of the Northern frontier, where the British

General Carleton had in the early part of the season, expelled the Americans under Arnold from Canada, and driven them into Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain.

General Gates, who assumed the command, fortified the post, and garrisoned it with about twelve thousand men.

The command of the Lakes George and Champlain was of the highest importance, for from that point to New York, a chain of British communications would effectually separate the Eastern and Middle States, and enable the royal troops to overrun either at pleasure, without the possibility of their co-operating for defence. The evacuation of Crown Point by the main body, leaving only a garrison there, and the selection of Ticonderoga as the point upon which to fall back, had been disapproved of by several American officers, and did not meet with Washington's approbation. In conformity with the design of maintaining the naval superiority on the Lake, General Gates with vast labor collected a fleet of sixteen vessels, consisting of one sloop, three schooners, one cutter, three gallies and eight barges or gondolas, the whole carrying fifty-six guns, eighty-six swivels, and four hundred men. The command was given to Colonel Arnold. The plans of the British were no less energetically pursued, and their means were more ample than those of the Americans. They did not pursue the Americans beyond Crown Point, but bent all their efforts to acquire such a preponderance of naval force, that they could drive them at once from their positions, force their way to Albany, and form a complete junction with Lord Howe's army at New York. In less than three months a powerful fleet was constructed and equipped. The materials for some of the largest vessels were brought from England, and time and great labour were required to put them into a state for use. Gondolas, boats and batteaux, and vessels of larger size, containing materials, muniments, and stores, were dragged up the rapids, and about the first of October, a large British squadron was afloat on Lake Champlain. It consisted of the Inflexible, a ship carrying eighteen twelves, two schooners, the Carlton and the Maria, carrying twelve and fourteen guns, a flat-bottomed boat carrying twelve guns besides howitzers, a gondola carrying seven nine pounders, twenty gunboats carrying each a brass field piece, from nine to twenty-four pounders; some large boats acting as tenders, with each a carriage gun, and a large number of small vessels

October.

prepared for the transportation of the army and stores. This fleet was navigated by seven hundred prime seamen; of whom two hundred were volunteers from the transports; was commanded by Captain Pringle, an experienced and gallant officer; and the guns were served by detachments from the artillery corps.

The American force was inferior in number, but could not avoid an action, which commenced under favorable circumstances on the 11th of October. The wind was unfavorable to the British, and the Inflexible and other vessels of force could not be brought into action. The combat was thus rendered more equal, and continued with great fierceness for four hours. The principal damage to the Americans was the loss of a schooner and a gondola Two of the British gondolas were sunk, one blown up, and the rest suffered severely. The commander finding it impossible to bring his whole strength advantageously into action, drew off his vessels at night, preparing to make a general attack the next day, if the wind should prove more favorable. Arnold, during the night, which was dark and foggy, by a bold and well executed manœuvre, run through the enemy's line, and by morning had escaped, with his whole fleet, out of sight. The wind freshened in that direction and Captain Pringle made sail with all speed, and after several days' chase, overtook the Americans before they had reached Crown Point, and brought them to action again. Some of the American vessels, by superiority of sailing escaped to Ticonderoga, but two gallies and five gondolas maintained the fight with an intrepidity approaching to desperation. One of the gallies having struck, Arnold conceived a gallant movement, and carried it into execution with singular courage, promptness and address. Determined that the enemy should not possess his vessels, nor capture the crews, he run his galley, followed by the gondolas, on shore, in such a situation that he could land the men, and blow up the vessels. The enterprise was perilous, but was completely successful. Paying a romantic attention to a point of honor, he resolved not to strike his flag, nor permit it to be struck, by the British, and never abandoned his galley till she was completely in flames. With the remnant of his force he reached Ticonderoga, Crown Point was abandoned to the enemy, and the American naval force having been reduced to two gallies, two schooners, one

Oct. 11.

sloop, and a gondola, the British were undisputed masters of the Lake. A change in the wind prevented their advance to the works at Ticonderoga, for eight days, which interval was busily employed by Generals Gates and Schuyler in strengthening the defences. Having taken possession of Crown Point, General Carleton advanced a part of his fleet, and put his land forces in motion on both sides of the Lake, apparently with a view of besieging the post. The garrison were deficient in ammunition and supplies, and by no means in a condition to resist a vigorous siege by a superior force, for any great length of time, but happily these circumstances were unknown in their full extent to the enemy, and the lateness of the season, and the apparent strength of the works, induced General Carleton, after reconnoitering them, to re-embark his army and return to Canada, where he went into winter quarters.

When the commanders were assured that there was no danger of any further attack from the Canada side, they despatched a large reinforcement to General Washington, then retreating before Lords Howe and Cornwallis, through the Jerseys. Very few of these troops reached their destination, having abandoned their officers by the way; and General St. Clair, with the officers and some scanty followers, were all that ever appeared in the camp of Washington.

Thus disheartening were the prospects of American freedom, in the middle of December 1776. The British forces had occupied nearly the whole of two powerful States, and had pursued a harassed, barefooted, destitute, almost disbanded, and daily diminishing army, from spot to spot, until a short pause was made on the banks of the Delaware, from the difficulty which was found in transporting the pursuing army over. On that day a return of the American forces made to Congress, showed that Washington could not muster more than thirty-three hundred men. After crossing, their numbers were little more than two thousand, and of these, the rapid deductions by desertion, and the expiration of the term of enlistment, left him an average force not exceeding sixteen hundred. Indeed, one of his official letters, dated the 24th of December, rated his whole strength at fourteen or fifteen hundred, hourly diminishing.

At this gloomy period, when defection was busy every where, and defeat seemed to menace the arms of the new

States in all directions, and before the eyes of the most zealous patriots no hope remained, but of a long, dangerous, doubtful, and bloody contest, the courage of Congress and the Commander-in-chief, never quailed. Counting on the necessity of further retreats and suffering in the midst of this wretched campaign, Washington asked of Colonel Reed, whether the upper counties of Pennsylvania would support their cause, if they were compelled to fall back so far. The Colonel doubted whether, if the lower counties were subdued, the upper parts of the state would hold out. The reply of Washington was memorable: 'We must then retire to Augusta County in Virginia; numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety, and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war. If overpowered there, we must cross the Alleghanys.'

Congress were fired with a similar determination. On the tenth of December, they made an animated appeal to the States, betraying no symptoms of despair; they spoke in terms of ardor of the ultimate success of the glorious struggle, and urged a manly fortitude in resisting the influence of temporary distresses, and a zeal commensurate with the inestimable rights and liberties at stake. An address adopted by the New York Convention, at that critical period, was admirably calculated to produce effect upon the minds of the people of other states. The enemy was within their borders; their rich capital was occupied by his armies; another army was prepared on their Northern frontier, and their slender troops were flying from the overwhelming force, which was gathering around them. In this posture, the New York patriots called upon their fellow-citizens, by every thing they held dear in life, to support their rights and save their country. With lofty reliance on the certainty of ultimate triumph, they recalled the noble conduct of the ancient Romans, under adverse fortune. They said:—"After the armies of Rome had been repeatedly defeated by Hannibal, that imperial city was besieged by this brave and experienced general, at the head of a numerous and victorious army. But so far were her glorious citizens from being discouraged by the loss of so many battles, and of all their country, so confident of their own virtue and of the protection of heaven, that the very land upon which the Carthagenians were encamped was sold at public auction for more than the usual price."

"These heroic citizens disdained to receive his protection or regard his proclamations. They remembered that their ancestors left them free, ancestors who had bled in rescuing their country from the tyranny of kings. They invoked the protection of the Supreme Being; they bravely defended their city with undaunted resolution, they repelled the enemy, and recovered their country." The author of the address was John Jay. It was not only approved of by a special vote of Congress, but ordered to be translated into the German language, and circulated at the expense of the United States.

After the removal to Baltimore, and the conferring of the unlimited powers already mentioned upon Washington, Congress adopted other means for recruiting the army, by offering bounties and rewards, and to provide pecuniary resources, by large paper emissions, pledging the faith of the United States for its redemption. Hard measures, ill-advised and of mischievous consequences, were soon adopted, to sustain the credit of this paper, and prevent its depreciation. This part of the civil history of the day belongs however to another part of the subject.

On no occasion, and by no set of men, in authority in this depressed condition, was the idea suggested, of accepting peace, by making any conditions whatever with Great Britain. In the discussions which frequently occupied Congress, on the subject of obtaining French assistance, it was several times proposed to offer France, as a compensation for her aid in establishing Independence, a monopoly of commerce, such as Great Britain had enjoyed. This was refused, and all modifications, offering her peculiar advantages of trade, also refused, upon the principal ground that it would endanger the union of the people in favor of independence, by destroying the force of the chief arguments against British supremacy. A stronger inducement for French aid, and one more consonant with the principles of the Revolution, was thought to be, the determination to abide by their Declaration at all hazards, and to convince the French court of the impossibility of their returning under British subjection. The occasion of the publication in England of some intercepted despatches sent to American agents at European courts, was embraced by the American Congress to reiterate, in a formal resolution, passed in the worst and darkest times, that they would listen to no terms of

union with Great Britain, that should deprive other nations of a free trade in American ports.

The most energetic measures were at the same time prosecuted to secure foreign alliances, a narrative of which belongs with more propriety, to that of a subsequent period, when by successful negotiations, France had been induced to furnish them aid.

The interval of inaction, after the crossing of the Delaware on the 12th of December, improved by the energy of Congress and the Commander-in-chief, was of vital importance to the American cause. What might have been the issue had General Howe felt less confident of final triumph and less contempt for an exhausted and flying enemy, and pushed on resolutely to complete the war at once, it is impossible to conjecture. He certainly had it in his power to strike a blow which would have materially changed the course of events. But, pausing to shelter his troops from the rigors of the season in winter-quarters, and believing the foe hopelessly routed and incapable of action, he extended his forces along the left bank of the Delaware; and, not apprehending any molestation, kept negligent watch of the motions of Washington. Colonel Rhal, a Hessian officer of merit, with a corps of Hessian infantry and English dragoons amounting to about fourteen hundred men, were stationed at Trenton and Bordentown; a few miles below was occupied by Colonel Donop with another Hessian brigade; and still lower down and within twenty miles of Philadelphia, was another corps of Hessians and English.

The combined efforts of the civil and military authorities had, in the interval, brought considerable reinforcements to the army of Washington. The Pennsylvania militia came into the field; the corps of Lee, which on the capture of that officer was commanded by Sullivan, joined him, and detachments from New York, under the orders of General Heath, soon came to his aid. About Christmas the army, with these reinforcements, amounted to about *seven thousand* effective men, when Washington conceived a bold plan of action, which changed the face of the war, and in a few days crowned the American arms with a series of successes and victories that roused and inspirited the people. Observing the scattered and loosely guarded positions of the British quarters, he determined to make a sudden and daring effort for the preservation of Philadelphia, and the recovery of New Jersey.

by surprising and sweeping at a stroke all the British cantonments upon the Delaware.

The night of the 25th of December was selected for the execution of this scheme. A part of his forces, under the command of General Irvine, were directed to cross at Trenton Ferry, below the town, to secure the bridge, and intercept the retreat of the enemy in that direction; General Cadwallader was directed to cross at Bristol and carry the post at Burlington. The Commander-in-chief led the main body, of twenty-four hundred men, across the river at McKenkey's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton, to make the principal attack.

The night of the twenty-fifth proved to be intensely cold. The Delaware was covered and obstructed with ice, and the passage was one of extreme difficulty, peril and suffering. The divisions under Irvine and Cadwallader, after the most strenuous efforts, were unable to cross, and abandoned their parts of this enterprise. Washington succeeded, but was delayed much beyond his calculations. He had expected to reach Trenton by the dawn of day, but it was not until four o'clock that his artillery was brought over and the line of march formed, at a distance of nine miles from the enemy's camp. Advancing in two bodies, one by the river road to the west side of the town, and the other by the Pennington road to the northern extremity, the expedition passed on rapidly, with orders to drive in the piquet guards on the instant of arrival, and attack the town. Washington accompanied the Pennington corps, and about eight o'clock both parties made a nearly simultaneous assault upon the surprised Hessians. Colonel Rhal behaved with great gallantry, and rallied his men for the defence of the post, but at the first fire he fell mortally wounded; the Hessian artillery was almost immediately seized, and the troops, after a random attempt to resist, endeavoured to escape towards Princeton. Washington, anticipating this movement, had thrown a part of his troops before them in that direction, and being thus hemmed in by the victorious Americans, about two thirds of them surrendered. A part, consisting of some Hessians and a troop of British lighthorse, fled by the Bordentown road; and in consequence of the failure of Cadwallader's division in crossing the river, escaped. Twenty-three officers and eight hundred and eighty-six men laid down their arms, and

Dec 25th.

the whole artillery, ammunition, and four stands of colors were taken. Twenty of the Hessians were killed, and counting those who had hidden themselves in the houses and were afterwards captured, about one thousand prisoners. Of the Americans, two privates were killed and two frozen to death; one officer, Colonel Washington, afterwards so distinguished in the southern campaign, and several privates wounded.

Not choosing to hazard the fruits of this brilliant victory, by further advance in the face of the very superior force which it was in the power of the British general to concentrate against him, Washington safely recrossed the Delaware. Had the other parts of the plan succeeded, the whole of the British posts on the Delaware would have shared the fate of Trenton.

The British general, startled at this daring feat, resolved, though in the depth of winter, to recommence operations. Lord Cornwallis, who was at New York preparing to carry to England intelligence of the total subjugation of the Americans, hastily returned to New Jersey, and he and General Howe, soon threw a powerful force upon Princeton.

After two or three days rest, having secured his prisoners, Washington again passed into New Jersey, and with about five thousand men, posted himself again at Trenton. He pushed forward a small detachment at Maidenhead, half way between Trenton and Princeton, to watch the enemy.

Jan. 2d, 1777. | On the next morning, the 2d of January, Cornwallis advanced, and at about 4 P. M. encountered the troops of Washington, who were drawn up behind Assumpink Creek. A cannonading was commenced between the parties, and several efforts made to force the passes of the creek, which were too strongly guarded, and night put an end to the skirmishing.

The situation of Washington was now exceedingly critical; with a superior army in front he knew defeat to be certain in a pitched battle; and to retreat over the Delaware encumbered by floating ice, difficult and dangerous. To fight was to lose all the benefits of the late victories, upon the spirits, as well as upon the fortunes, of the Americans; and a retreat, besides the peril, was little less disheartening. With his usual sagacity and boldness, he struck out another extraordinary scheme, which was accomplished with consummate skill, and followed by the happiest results. It

was determined in council silently to quit their present position, and by a circuitous route to gain the enemy's rear at Princeton, and thus assume vigorous offensive operations, at the enemy's weakest point. Both armies were crowded within the village of Trenton, separated only by a narrow creek, and the British were sanguine that the whole American army was in their power beyond escape.

As soon as night fell, Washington's measures were silently and swiftly taken. The fires were renewed and ordered to be diligently kept up through the night. Guards were posted at the bridge and passes, and ordered to go their rounds; the baggage was removed to Burlington; and about one o'clock in the morning, the whole army, unperceived, took up their line of march for the enemy's rear.

By one of those fortunate events, upon which the success of the best laid plans frequently depends, a sudden and favorable change in the weather took place in the night. The wind veered unexpectedly to the north-west, and the roads, that had been almost impassable with mud, and broken up by rains and thaws, were frozen so hard that the artillery was conveyed as easily as upon a solid pavement, and the troops marched with swiftness and comfort. In the morning the British general found himself out-manœuvred; and instead of arming for an easy victory, was forced to break up his camp and retreat towards Princeton, to save his stores from capture.

The whole army of Washington approached Princeton about daybreak. Near the town they encountered three regiments under Colonel Mawhood, forming the British advance, who were marching to join Cornwallis at Trenton. General Mercer, with the Philadelphia militia, engaged them; but being charged with bayonets, they gave way, and General Mercer was mortally wounded. The moment was critical, and the destruction of the enterprise, with all the hopes of the army, imminent when Washington rallied the troops in person, dashing into the open space between the armies, and exposing himself to the fire of both sides, fortunately without receiving a wound. The enemy were soon routed, a considerable number fell, but the colonel, with great bravery, cut his way with a few followers through the surrounding battalions, and escaped towards Pennington. The rear, which had not been engaged, saved themselves and retreated to Brunswick.

Jan. 3d, 1777.

The Americans took three hundred prisoners, with but little loss. Among the killed was General Mercer, highly esteemed and deeply regretted by the victors; and Colonel James Monroe, afterwards the fifth President of the United States, was wounded.

Washington had scarcely occupied Princeton, and secured his prisoners, before he was compelled to retreat to avoid the fresh forces of Cornwallis, who, comprehending the design of Washington, had retraced his steps and hurried on towards Brunswick. The American army had now been eighteen hours under arms; some of them had been two days, all of them one day, without rest, undergoing severe labor, and were nearly exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep. They were accordingly prudently drawn off into a secure position in Upper Jersey, and encamped for the present at Morristown. Cornwallis, without pursuing them continued his march to Brunswick. Washington did not long remain inactive. Having refreshed his troops and received an increase of infantry, he re-entered the field, and overrun almost the whole of New Jersey to the Raritan, made himself master of many important points, and crossing the river, captured Newark, Elizabethtown, and Woodbridge, fortifying his positions and choosing his camps so strongly and with such judgment, that he could not be dislodged. In these expeditions he was aided by risings of the people in all parts of New Jersey, who during the ascendancy of the British had been treated with harshness, insult, and cruelty. The exasperation produced, especially by the conduct of the Hessians, broke forth in every direction, as soon as the American arms prevailed. Those who had before favored the royal cause, or sought a timid neutrality, were driven by the atrocities with which the steps of the British army had been marked, to make a common cause, and aid in expelling them from the country. Ambuscades were frequent, armed parties of farmers were constantly on the watch, and a universal hatred of the invader, stimulated even the most feeble to do something towards harassing their march, cutting off their stragglers, embarrassing their means of communication, and carrying information to the American camp. So successful were these enterprises, that when General Washington retired into secure quarters for the winter, on the 6th of January, the army that at Christmas were undisputed masters of the whole State, were cooped up in two

posts, New Brunswick and Amboy, with no means of communication with New York except by sea, and straitened for forage, while Washington was safely entrenched at Morristown, having in a few weeks, with such scanty means, saved Philadelphia, protected Pennsylvania, reconquered New Jersey, infused ardor and enthusiasm into the hearts of his countrymen, and established for himself and country a reputation that attracted the attention of Europe.

Congress returned to Philadelphia in security, and testified their increased confidence in Washington, by making him the sole responsible director of the war, and formally releasing him from all obligations to be guided by councils of war.

CHAPTER IX.

THE American Congress, while thus exerting themselves to repel invasion at home, had turned their earnest attention to the policy of securing foreign aid. Some months before the declaration of independence, communications had been opened by means of secret committees, with leading persons on the continent, to sound the disposition of those courts which were most hostile to Great Britain to take part with the Colonies, in the event of a war. In November 1775, a committee, consisting of Mr. Harrison, Dr. Franklin, Messrs Johnson, Dickinson, and Jay, were appointed by resolution for this purpose. A letter written by Dr. Franklin shortly after, to a gentleman in Holland, asks with an evident anticipation of independence, whether, if the colonies should be "obliged to break off all connexion with Great Britain," and declare themselves, "an independent people," there was any state or power in Europe, would be willing to enter into an alliance with them for the benefit of their commerce. The passage of the violent acts of Parliament of the next session, stimulated the committee to fresh efforts; and accordingly *Silas Deane*, a member of Congress from Connecticut, was commissioned by them to the French court, with instructions, dated March 2d, 1776, signed by Franklin, Jay, Harrison, Dickinson, and Robert Morris, in the place of Mr. Johnson. He arrived in Paris about the first of July, and opened a communication with the French minister, Count de *Vergennes*, and pursuant to his instructions applied for immediate aid, in supplies of clothing and arms for 25,000 men, or in case they would not grant in that form, for permission to make purchases on credit. He was also directed to ascertain the disposition of the French court, on the subject of a treaty of alliance, if the Colonies should declare themselves independent.

The British ministry, aware of these movements, sent Lord Stormont express to Paris to watch the movements of the American envoy, who was not openly countenanced by the French court, though his interviews were frequent in private. Personally Mr. Deane was assured of the protection

of the police, and a free intercourse between the ports of France and America was at once promised him. He was also assured that all obstructions to the purchase and shipment of warlike stores, would be removed. The British government went so far as to demand that Deane should be given up to them as a rebel, which was refused.

Before Deane's arrival in France, a voluntary offer had been made to the Americans, through their agent in London, Arthur Lee of Virginia, by one Beaumarchais, to advance them supplies to the amount of a million of livres. The loan or gift,—for the nature of the transaction remains still a mystery,—was afterwards completed at Paris, by Mr. Deane, and the supplies furnished by the way of Cape Francois under fictitious names, and apparently as a commercial speculation. The profound secrecy with which the transaction was managed, with a design that the government of France should appear to take no part in it, has never been fully explained; and for a long time the heirs of Beaumarchais made an individual claim against the American government for a repayment of this million, as though it had been the private advance of their ancestor.

The remonstrances of the British minister, Lord Stormont, were politely listened to, but evaded. Vessels laden with warlike stores were detained on his representation, but afterwards suffered to depart; and when these shipments were complained of, in a tone more menacing than was agreeable to the French court, the Count de Vergennes inquired significantly whether a declaration of war was meant? which produced an alteration in the manner of remonstrance.

The indulgences extended to the American agents in France, in procuring supplies, were liberally construed and diligently improved. During the year 1776, the feeling in favor of America, originally encouraged through a desire of crippling the power of Great Britain, increased among the French people; and practices, beyond the letter of the grants of the government, and contrary in fact, to the existing engagements with England, were connived at and encouraged. Arms and munitions of war were not only allowed to be purchased and sent to America, but were actually furnished covertly from the public arsenals. Their ports gave as great facilities, as could be done without committing the government, to American privateers, and especially in the

West-Indies, ready harbors and markets were found for their prizes, of which great numbers were captured during the year 1776. These naval enterprises were of the greatest consequence to the Americans, and had been prosecuted with much spirit and perseverance. Authority had been granted by Congress in November 1775, for capturing vessels laden with military stores or reinforcements, which was in March 1776, extended to permit the general arming of privateers against the commerce of the enemies of the united colonies. Under this permission American privateers swarmed on the seas, to the coasts of Great Britain, and especially in the West Indies, and proved successful in making captures of many valuable vessels. The value of their prizes in that year has been estimated as high as *six millions* of dollars. They were sold principally in the French ports, and instances not unfrequently occurred of privateers fitted out against British commerce altogether from French ports, under the American flag.

During Mr. Deane's agency in Paris, with the co-operation of Arthur Lee, in London, to induce the French court to take active measures for assisting the Colonies, the Declaration of Independence was made, and one of the first diplomatic measures of the new States was to prepare a plan for obtaining foreign alliances. Before the Declaration was finally adopted, and on the same day on which it was agreed to in committee of the whole, the 11th of June, a committee was appointed to report on this matter, consisting of Mr. Dickinson, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, Mr. Harrison, and Robert Morris. Richard Henry Lee and James Wilson were afterwards added; and on the 17th of September they reported a plan of foreign alliance, which Congress adopted. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed commissioners to France. For Mr. Jefferson, who could not leave home, Arthur Lee was substituted. The mission was designed to be kept a profound secret, and their instructions were special, and included authority to make application and offer inducements for Spanish aid. Dr. Franklin sailed on the mission, and with Mr. Lee, who was at the time of his appointment in London, joined Mr. Deane, in Paris, in December.

The gloomy prospect of affairs in America, as the campaign advanced, produced stronger efforts in Congress to obtain aid from abroad. On the 30th of December, reso-

lutions were adopted to send agents to other courts of Europe, and to strengthen their application to France and Spain. William Lee was appointed to Vienna and Berlin; Ralph Izard to the Duke of Tuscany, and Dr. Franklin specially to Spain. Arthur Lee was afterwards substituted for Dr. Franklin to Spain. The additional instructions to their agents in France, reiterated the determination of the States, never to return to subjection to Great Britain, an apprehension of which naturally deterred the other powers of Europe from entering into negotiations with them, and made liberal offers of territorial and commercial favors, in return for open or covert aid.

Before the arrival of these new propositions, the great talents, high reputation, and extraordinary personal popularity of Dr. Franklin had been successful in increasing the general enthusiasm which began to be felt in behalf of the Americans. The court and the people, the halls of science and the saloons of fashion, became equally charmed with the character, wit, and simplicity of manners of the American envoy; and in addition to inducements arising out of reasons of state, and national rivalry, his mission and his country grew personally in favor. The government was not ready to acknowledge the States openly or form treaties with them as an independent nation; but in all other respects, it was willing to give them efficient aid. A paper signed by the king was read to the commissioners early in January 1777, by Monsieur Gerard, secretary to Count Vergennes, in which he explained his disposition to serve them, expressed his doubts of the fitness of the time, or the condition of his own affairs to give them countenance, or form a close alliance with them, and gave them as an earnest of his good wishes, *two millions of livres*, payable quarterly, to be augmented, as the state of his finances would permit. The new propositions received in the beginning of the year, though they strengthened the confidence of the French in the stability of the American purposes, were not sufficient to induce them to depart from this line of policy. They were uncertain of the course which events would take, of the final resolution of Congress against all reconciliation with Britain in any form, and were in particular very sceptical as to the harmony of the States among themselves, and their capacity, if successful, to form a permanent union, and responsible government. Though lending succors in vari-

ous ways, by loans, gifts, supplies of arms, provisions, clothing and ammunition, to the American commissioners and agents, and receiving them individually with every demonstration of favor and sympathy, France avoided all formal recognition of American Independence, or official intercourse with the United States, and preserved a nominal neutrality between the belligerents during the whole of the year 1777

The popular sympathy of the French nation, happily outstripped the calculating policy of their rulers. Volunteers offered themselves to bear arms in the cause of liberty, and among them, were numerous persons of merit and distinction, who could only have been actuated by a generous gallantry and noble zeal for free principles. The most eminent was the young Marquis de La Fayette, a nobleman, who enjoyed, by his high rank, large wealth, numerous connexions among the noblest and wealthiest, and the rare felicity of his domestic relations, every inducement to give himself up to a career of enjoyment in his own country, but who, fired with a virtuous indignation against tyranny, and zeal for human happiness, abandoned all the delights and endearments of home, and embarked his fortune and his life in the cause of American liberty, when its prospects were darkest. His proffers of service were made at an early period, but were not warmly encouraged by the agents of America, in consequence of the uncertain condition of the affairs of the new Colonies, and their want of means to offer suitable inducements. When news of the disastrous battle of Long Island, following so immediately after the Declaration of Independence, reached France, and the apparent desperation of American affairs was communicated to him, it only elicited the noble comment, "If your country is indeed reduced to such extremity, this is the moment at which my departure to join her armies will render her the most efficient service." He accordingly fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and in the spring of 1777, arrived in America, where he was received with the liveliest joy, and adopted into the family of Washington, who became tenderly attached to him. Congress soon after appointed him a Major General in their armies.

Contemporary with these movements in France, by which efficient succor was given to the Americans, the British parliament was in session, and the subject of American affairs

was brought before them, both by the king in his speech at the opening of the session in October, and by members of the opposition afterwards. The ministerial majority for perseverance in the war, was overwhelming. Addresses moved as echoes to the speech, and calling for the subjugation of the rebels, were carried, and conciliatory amendments rejected in the House of Commons, by a vote of 242 to 87, and in the House of Peers by a vote of 91 to 26. The opposition in the lower House was led by Lord John Cavendish, and in the Upper by the Marquis of Rockingham. Fourteen peers joined in a protest on the journal, which contained the following passages:

"A wise and provident use of the late advantages, might be productive of happy effects, as the means of establishing a permanent connexion between Great Britain and her Colonies, on principles of liberty and terms of mutual benefit," but "we should look with shame and horror on any events that would bow them to any abject or unconditional submission to any power whatsoever; annihilate their liberties, and subdue them to servile principles and passive habits by the mere force of foreign mercenary arms."

The proclamation issued by the Howes in America as commissioners under the act of the previous session, was brought before the House; and though censured as illegal, a motion was made to proceed, on the faith of the promises of the ministry expressed in it, to go into a revisal of the acts of parliament complained of in America. This being rejected, the minority avowing their despair of checking the ruinous policy of the administration, seceded from the House, and left the ministers entirely unopposed. A few of them rallied in February, to oppose another tyrannical measure, introduced by Lord North, to suspend the Habeas Corpus act, "to enable his majesty to secure and detain persons charged with or suspected of the crime of high treason committed in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy." They succeeded in modifying some of the clauses, but their opposition to the principle was vain. The session was protracted till the month of June, but no further effort made on American affairs. They were left to the fortune of war, and the tender mercies of the German mercenaries, hired by the king of Great Britain, to subdue the revolted colonists into renewed affection for Great Britain.

Washington, in the early part of the year, after closing his campaign by the recovery of New Jersey from the enemy and retiring into winter quarters at Morristown, passed some months of extreme embarrassment and severe labors in preparing for the period of action. The army having suffered severely by the small-pox, he directed them to be inoculated, and both regular soldiers, and recruits as they arrived, went through the operation successfully. During the season when they were laboring under the effects of this precautionary measure, the whole camp was almost, if not quite defenceless: not more than a comparative handful of men were fit for any duty. Indeed, the extreme weakness of the forces under Washington's command, during the winter, at Morristown, was such, that a strong effort by the British army could not have failed to drive them completely out of Jersey. The recruiting service went on but slowly, even after the favorable change produced by the victories at Trenton and Princeton. The battalions voted by Congress in December, were none of them filled up; and as the times of enlistment expired, the soldiers rarely consented to re-enter the service. The utmost force that could be mustered during the month of February, was fifteen hundred men; and there were times when, from the causes just mentioned, there were not four hundred of all descriptions, fit for duty. In March, the general reported to Congress, that his whole force in Jersey, including the militia, was only three thousand, one third only of whom were regular troops, and that the time of service of the militia would expire within the month. Towards the latter part of the month the numbers had increased nominally to near five thousand. At the same time the British army, under General Howe, exceeded twenty-seven thousand. Congress, which re-assembled at Philadelphia on the 27th February, were invoked earnestly and repeatedly by the Commander-in-chief to do something effectual for improving the state of the army. They passed some resolves with this object, among which was one to raise three artillery regiments, to be put under the command of General Knox, another to raise three thousand cavalry, and a third to establish a corps of engineers. At the head of the engineer corps, was placed General Du Portail, a distinguished French officer. These regulations gradually produced beneficial consequences upon the organization of the army, though not of much instant importance. Much difficulty was produced by the

anomalous nature of the authority by which the various military bodies were brought together under the direction of Congress. A union in fact existed among the States, but only by consent, no articles of agreement having been adopted, and every State having an absolute independence of the others. The States alone had power to compel obedience, and their regulations, both as to bounty and to pay, were various and discordant. When their several quotas were raised and brought together under the control of a body so utterly powerless in fact, as the continental Congress, jealousies, discords, and confusion, inevitably ensued. Particular States, looking to their own position, and apprehensions of the enemy, called for a diversion of the general force, to their own defence, or raised state battalions, to be at their own separate disposal. These mischiefs were earnestly combatted by the efforts and representations of Congress and the Commander-in-chief, and before the opening of the campaign they were in part removed. The army arrangements were made more uniform, and the discipline brought into greater method. An evil still greater and beyond the power of Congress to remedy, was the alarming depreciation of the continental bills of credit, issued on the public faith by Congress, to a very large amount. Not being based upon any specie fund; with no provision for redemption at any time, except the remote and now almost hopeless contingency of the establishment of Independence, the formation of a solid government, and the restoration and increase of the national commerce, nothing could give them currency among the people. Unwise and arbitrary enactments, to force them into circulation at par, or even to limit their depreciation, failed, as ought to have been expected. The disorder in the finances could not be repaired by any expedients within the means of Congress, and continued to increase. This fruitful source of distress to the army, and the government during the war, had already exhibited part of its mischievous effects upon the American cause, in the winter of 1776, and 1777.

Another source of trouble and vexation, was the disputes between the English and American generals on the treatment of prisoners. These had commenced with the earliest hostilities in Massachusetts. General Gage considered the Americans as revolted subjects, in arms against their sovereign, and as such not entitled to the treatment of prisoners

of war. Without distinction of rank, he confined them in prisons with malefactors, under the general designation of rebels. This brought on, first, remonstrances from Washington, repeated in terms of indignation, and demanding for American prisoners the respect due to their rank, conformable to military usage; and finally, on the harsh and insolent refusal of General Gage, retaliation upon British officers and soldiers. This barbarous system of mutual injustice, was relaxed on the arrival of General Howe, who admitted the captured Americans to the privileges of lawful enemies. Washington, to whom the necessity of acting harshly in self-defence had given great pain, immediately withdrew his own orders, and restored the British prisoners to the same privileges in return. Complaints, however, constantly occurred of the abuse of American prisoners, and communications passed between the commanding generals on that subject. After the capture of General Lee in December, the circumstances of his case, and the treatment he received, aggravated the irritation which had been mutually felt, and reproduced the harsher system of retaliation. Lee had been an officer in the British service, and it was alledged that he had joined the Americans before the resignation of his British commission had been actualy accepted. For this reason, Sir William Howe undertook to consider him as excluded from the terms of exchange agreed upon, and treated him as a deserter taken in arms. He refused to parole him, and peremptorily rejected the offer of Congress to give six general officers in exchange for Lee. On this refusal, Congress ordered that the officers selected should be closely confined, and receive in every respect the same treatment as Lee. This order was carried into effect strictly, not by the Commander-in-chief, but the State executives, in whose custody the designated officers were. They were the British Colonel Arbuthnot, and five Hessian field officers. The order for retaliation thus enforced, was contrary to the advice and remonstrances of General Washington, whose letters to Congress earnestly deprecated it as cruel and impolitic. They persisted nevertheless, and no favors were extended to the captives, until Howe consented to exchange General Lee. In the interval, the exchange of prisoners was totally suspended. The course of the war threw a great number of Americans into the hands of the enemy, and their treatment, especially at New York, is one of the blackest stains upon the arms of England in

that conflict, so fruitful in disgraces to her. The sick and the well, the maimed and the wounded, with the healthy and the strong, were promiscuously crowded together, in churches converted into prisons, in common jails, or in prison-ships, without supplies, without medicines, food, or fuel, adequate to their sustenance, and subjected, in addition, to cruel scoffs, and brutal outrages from the soldiery. Want, neglect, close confinement in filth and an impure atmosphere, at an inclement season, engendered mortal diseases, and hundreds upon hundreds perished miserably within a few weeks. The survivors were enfeebled by disease and hunger, and wounded in every manly feeling by insults and brutal stripes. In the midst of these sufferings, the royal officers were strenuous in efforts to seduce them into the British service, making liberal promises for recruits, and punishing rejection of their dishonorable proposals by ignominious beatings and increased inhumanity. These efforts were totally fruitless. None listened to the tempter, and all the horrors of the dungeon, the perils of disease, and death itself, were magnanimously preferred to an abandonment of the cause of their country. The offers of Washington to provide for the wants of these victims, were declined by General Howe; and even the request to send an agent, to examine into and relieve their condition, was rejected. After an obstinate and protracted controversy, the exchange was effected, and the survivors restored to their country. The wretched state in which they were sent into the American lines after the conclusion of the arrangements for exchange in the spring, testified strongly to the hardships they had endured. All of them were sickly and debilitated, and many fainted and died, before they reached head-quarters. A more humane treatment of prisoners ensued, but not for a long time afterwards was a regular system of exchange re-established.

In these discussions and negotiations, the winter passed away, and spring advanced without any decided movement on the part of the British army, and with constant efforts on the part of the American general to cover the feebleness of his actual position, and the poverty of his numbers, from the knowledge of the enemy, and to collect stores and augment his forces as rapidly as possible. In the month of May, his encampment at Morristown was so weakly manned, as appears by the official letters of Washington, that his safety consisted in the false information received by his opponents.

Magazines of stores were in the mean time prepared, on the east side of the North river, in the hilly country above Peekskill, called Courtlandt's manor, and the arrival from France of a stock of munitions of war, supplied some of the most pressing deficencies. A vessel of twenty-four guns reached Portsmouth with about ten thousand stand of arms, and one thousand barrels of powder, and ten thousand stands of arms were received in another quarter. The successive arrivals of recruits augmented the army of Washington to more than seven thousand men, with which he begun the campaign at the close of the month of May.

Before the regular campaign was opened between the two armies, several skirmishes had occured, of importance in the progress of events.

General Lincoln was stationed at Boundbrook, with about five hundred men. Cornwallis, who was quartered at Brunswick, conceived the idea of surprising this body, and with this view marched upon them suddenly on the morning of the 13th of April, in two columns, of a thousand men each, advancing upon both sides of the Raritan river. They reached within a hundred paces of the American quarters before they were discovered, and Lincoln himself with difficulty rejoined his troops who were already engaged. He succeeded in making his retreat and bringing off his men, with the loss of about sixty; but his papers, stores, and three pieces of artillery, fell into the hands of the enemy.

April 13.

An attack was made, at nearly the same time, by a body of troops despatched by Howe, against the town of Peekskill. This place is situated about fifty miles from New York, on the east side of the Hudson river, and is a kind of port to the hilly country in which the American stores had been collected. There were several magazines of the kind, in the town itself. A powerful armament was sent up the river in transports, and the American troops who garrisoned the place, seeing defence impossible, set fire to the stores, and abandoned the place. The loss was severe, but the English, after landing and taking possession, returned without delay to New Jersey.

A similar enterprise, but more important in its consequences, was undertaken by the English a few days afterwards, against the town of Danbury, which is situated near the line of New York, in the county of Fairfield, in Connecticut

There was there a large depot of stores and provisions, of great value to the Americans, which it was the object of the British expedition to capture or destroy. There were also believed to be numerous loyalists, or tories, in that part of the country, from whom aid and recruits were expected. The command was given to General Tryon, late royal governor of New York. Landing at Saugatuck, on Long Island sound, between Norwalk and Fairfield, on the evening of the 25th of April, with two thousand men, he reached Danbury without meeting resistance, on the next day. The slender garrison which was stationed there, under Colonel Huntingdon, retreated at his approach, to a stronger position in the rear. After destroying the stores, without receiving any of the expected co-operation from the loyalists, the British commenced their return, but not with the same security. The country around them had begun to rally, and the militia collected themselves at Reading, impatient to check the insulting progress of the enemy. Arnold, who was in the neighborhood on recruiting service, hastened to join them, and old General Wooster, now in his seventieth year, summoned reinforcements and marched with alacrity to join them. The force collected amounted to about six hundred men; the English retreated by the way of Ridgefield; but before they reached there, the Americans had divided their forces, one party under Wooster, hanging upon the rear to harass them, whilst Arnold, with the larger division, pushed on to Ridgefield to intercept them. In the pursuit, the veteran Wooster, while leading his men on, with all the gallantry of youth, received a mortal wound. Arnold reached Ridgefield by great exertions, about midnight; and his men, augmented to about five hundred in number, threw up barricadoes across the streets, manned the houses with soldiers, and determined to make a stand. A hot action ensued, but the great superiority of the British in number, enabled them to out-flank the American position, and force them to retreat. Tryon remained all night at Ridgefield, and committed numerous outrages, burning and wantonly destroying private property, as well as a church, in which some public stores were placed. The next morning, he pursued his march to Norwalk, along the east bank of the Saugatuck river, pursued and harassed by Arnold, who kept the west side, until both parties reached Saugatuck bridge. There a sharp conflict was kept up for a quarter of

April 25.

April 28.

an hour, but the English forced their way by hard fighting, to their shipping, and embarked under a galling fire from Arnold's militia. The American stores destroyed in this expedition, were a heavy loss to them. They had about sixty men killed and wounded, while the loss of the British was five hundred.

General Wooster died of his wounds on the 2d of May. Congress passed resolutions expressive of gratitude for his services and character, and decreed a monument to be erected to his memory. Arnold, whose horse was shot under him in the fight, received from Congress the present of a horse fully caparisoned, and was promoted to the rank of major general.

One of the most encouraging results of this expedition, was the defeat of the anticipations of the enemy of finding friends and efficient supporters among the natives. None declared themselves for the British, and the outrages committed by the invaders, roused the whole population to resentment.

Not long afterwards, a daring expedition was planned and successfully accomplished, by a party of American militia, against a depot of British stores. Magazines of forage, and provisions, had been collected at Sagg harbor, a port on the east end of Long Island, under the protection of a detachment of infantry, and an armed sloop. The navigation was believed to be entirely commanded by the English vessels. Colonel Meigs of Connecticut crossed the sound one night with a party of Connecticut militia, 170 in number, in whaleboats, and reached the Harbor before day. He surprised the guards, at the point of the bayonet, burned a dozen brigs and sloops, totally destroyed every thing on shore which the enemy had collected, and returned safely with numerous prisoners to Guilford. This brilliant affair took place on the 23d of May.

The main operations of both armies were, in the mean time, suspended for an unusual length of time. The British army delayed commencing any offensive operations, and that of Washington profited very much by the season of inaction. They were gradually reinforced, by recruits and militia, and their policy was to wait the development of the plans of the enemy, and make provision for encountering him in any direction, against which he might decide on moving. General Burgoyne was already in Canada, with a powerful army, and it was obvious to Washington, that General Howe would

either attempt to seize on the passes of the North river and thus co-operate directly with Burgoyne, or leaving that for future movements, would follow up at first the attempts of the previous campaign, and march upon Philadelphia. As a precaution against both these movements, he determined to open the campaign by descending from his position at Morristown, and post his army on the high ground north of the Brunswick road to Philadelphia, extending his left towards the river and stationing a considerable force at Peekskill. By this management his forces could be readily concentrated at either point; for the defence of Philadelphia, or to protect the forts and passes of the river. On the 25th of May, he formed his new camp at Middlebrook, about ten miles from Brunswick, a position naturally very strong, which he fortified with careful entrenchments. His troops, exclusive of artillery and cavalry, were about eight thousand three hundred men, of whom more than two thousand were sick. May 25.

The real design of General Howe, was the recovery of New Jersey, and the capture of Philadelphia. This is generally charged upon him as a military fault. The army of Burgoyne, about to descend from Canada, was the chief reliance of the British ministry, for subduing America. A junction with the army in New York, with the command of the Hudson and the lakes, would have separated the States, and, with the aid of the force already in Rhode Island, given the whole of New England into the power of the British army. Instead of entering zealously and at once into this plan, General Howe delayed some time, in the effort to draw General Washington into action, and finally postponed his co-operation with the northern army, for an attack upon Philadelphia. He perhaps hoped so thoroughly to subdue Pennsylvania and New Jersey by this enterprise, as to be able to make a clear field for the approach of General Burgoyne. The calculations failed as signally below, as the main expedition above. Philadelphia fell, but neither Congress nor the people were subdued nor terrified; and when Burgoyne descended the Hudson, it was not as a flushed conqueror, but as a captive to the despised republicans.

On the night of the 14th of June, General Howe made a bold effort to entice Washington from his camp, and bring on an action. The whole army, with the exception of two thousand soldiers, who were left to protect the baggage and

bridge equipage, at Brunswick, marched out in two columns, and advanced to Somerset court-house, with the apparent design to cross the Delaware. Washington was too wary to believe, that they would be rash enough to cross in front of a formidable opposition, and with an army in the rear, and did not fail to remark, that the bridges prepared to cross with, had been left behind. When the enemy approached, without leaving his strong position, he drew up his army in order of battle, and kept them under arms all night. The New Jersey militia assembled with alacrity; and Howe, finding his scheme frustrated, retreated to Brunswick on the 19th, and gathered all his forces towards that point. Washington, relieved of his present fears for the river passages, ordered down a part of his force at Peekskill, and strengthened himself at Middlebrook. The movements of the British to and fro, were marked with devastation and cruelty. They burned, ravaged and destroyed, without respect to property, or persons.

The rapid advance on the 14th having failed in its object, the British general tried another feint, and a few days afterwards made as rapid a retreat to Amboy. His baggage having been sent across to Staten Island, he threw a bridge over the channel, and several detachments passed over, as though it had been his final intention to abandon New Jersey, and march upon Philadelphia. Washington despatched strong parties to pursue and harass his march, commanded by Generals Greene, Maxwell, and Sullivan, and Colonel Morgan, and in order to follow up the retreating army, left his camp at Middlebrook, and with his whole army took up a new position at Quibbletown, six or seven miles nearer to Amboy. General Howe promptly endeavoured to take advantage of the success of his manœuvre. On the night of the 25th of June, he suddenly recalled his troops from the island, and advanced swiftly towards the Americans. Washington, with equal rapidity, retraced his own movements. Recalling his advance, he resumed his position on the heights, and the British only succeeded in engaging the brigade under the command of Lord Sterling. That, after maintaining a hot action, retreated with little loss, and the British forces, foiled again, withdrew to Amboy on the 27th, and three days afterwards passed finally over to Staten Island, leaving General Washington in undisturbed possession of New Jersey. The fleet under the command of

June 25th.

June 30.

Admiral Howe, was lying at Sandy Hook, on the opposite side of the island. The destination of their fleet and army from this point, was a subject of great anxiety to all America. They had it in their power, having the command of the sea, to land at any point of the country, and the Hudson, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Boston, were alternately looked to as the objects of the expedition. A sudden movement to the north side of Staten Island, led Washington to believe that the Hudson was the point; and he accordingly reinforced the northern army, changed his camp to the old position at Morristown, and strengthened the river forts and garrisons. This uncertainty continued for a long time, the various changes of position made by Howe being considered for the most part as feints to conceal a real purpose. Washington becoming more convinced that Philadelphia was the object, turned as much of his care in that direction as was consistent with prudence. The Pennsylvania militia were called out, to rendezvous at Chester, and those of New Jersey were summoned at Gloucester. At last, on the 23d of July, the British fleet sailed from Sandy Hook. It consisted of more than three hundred vessels, and carried thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful corps of artillery, amounting in all to about eighteen thousand men. The rest of the army, seventeen battalions, was left under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, for the protection of New York. The fleet was reported to steer southwardly, and the same doubt as to their object, continued to harass the public mind, and perplex the Commander-in-chief. A letter was intercepted, which stated New Hampshire to be the point, but so convinced was Washington that it was intended to mislead, that he instantly marched to the south. He halted for a while on the Delaware, hesitating to believe that Howe could absolutely abandon the Hudson, where he was expected to aid the Northern army. On the 31st, the fleet came in sight of the capes of the Delaware, but from some change of plan, instead of entering, put to sea again, and were not heard of for weeks. This increased the uncertainty and anxiety of the American army, which marched and counter-marched through New Jersey according to the various reports that were received, until all doubts were dispelled by intelligence of the arrival of the British fleet in the Chesapeake, and the disembarkation of the army at Turkey point, at the mouth of the

July 23, 1777.

Aug. 25. Elk river, in Maryland. General Washington instantly marched his whole army through Philadelphia, to oppose them. He had a considerable nominal force, but his effective strength did not exceed eleven thousand. On the 3d of September, the armies approached each other, and Washington, after manœuvring several days to avoid being out-flanked by a superior force, finally fell back to the left bank of the Brandywine river, at Chadd's ford, where he made a stand to dispute the passage with the enemy. Congress and the people called upon the general to risk a battle there, for the defence of Philadelphia.

The discipline of the army had been much improved during their stay in New Jersey, by the French officers, who had joined it, either as volunteers in the cause of liberty, or on the invitation of Silas Deane, the American envoy at Paris. Some of these were veteran and skillful soldiers, whose experience in European warfare, and knowledge of military tactics, was of much value to the new levies of the States. He who added most lustre to the French name, not by military knowledge, but by his personal virtues, the splendor of his individual character, and the enthusiastic disinterestedness with which he had embraced the American service, was the young Marquis de La Fayette. At the age of nineteen, he had risked every thing to join a sinking cause, escaped with difficulty from France, from a court circle the gayest in Europe, a fortune beyond his wishes, a home endeared by a newly wedded and fondly loved wife, against the commands of his sovereign, and though chased by cruisers to arrest and bring him back, brought his sword and his arm to the service of liberty. His arrival inspirited Congress and the people, by the proofs of ardent sympathy which it displayed, and the hopes of efficient succor from abroad which it encouraged. At the Brandywine, he occupied a distinguished post in the army.

The landing of Howe in the Chesapeake, made manifest to Washington that the British forces were not acting under a common head, and for a joint plan of operation. They were, in fact, divided into three independent bodies, two of which at least, those under Burgoyne and Howe, aimed at distinct objects, tending only remotely to a union. Burgoyne in the north was pushing on with rapidity, and in apparent triumph, from Crown Point towards Albany: Sir Henry Clinton, with a large force, was inactive at New York;

and Sir William Howe was pursuing a separate purpose in the middle States. The campaign of Burgoyne will be narrated presently, in a connected form. We shall here pursue the fortunes of the army which, on the 11th of September 1777, was approaching the Brandywine river, to force its way to Philadelphia.

One anecdote of an enterprise, which occurred some time before in the north, deserves to be recorded here, though not strictly in the order of the narrative. Though not of much real importance, it produced a great exultation to the Americans, and was exceedingly mortifying to the British. The British force at Rhode Island, consisting of seven battalions and a considerable fleet, was commanded by General Prescott, who, being so superior in force to any that could be brought against him, kept negligent guard. Aware of this, and anxious to retaliate for the capture of General Lee, a party of Americans, under the command of Colonel Barton, to the number of about forty, formed a plan of surprising the general in his quarters, and carrying him off. Embarking by night in whale-boats, and cautiously rowing between the enemy's ships, they landed on the coast between Newport and Bristol Ferry, and having silently reached the lodgings of Prescott, arrested him in bed, and conducted him safely through his own troops and fleet back to the main land. Congress voted their thanks, and presented a sword to Colonel Barton, for this daring feat.

The battle of the Brandywine was hazarded by Washington more in compliance with the public call for decisive action, and the impatience of delay, than in accordance with his own judgment. His army was inferior in numbers and discipline, and he might easily have assumed a position among the hills too strong to be forced, which would have retarded the royal troops, and forced them to waste the season to little purpose. But delay had dissatisfied both Congress and the public expectation, and it was determined to try the fortune of battle.

The army of Sir William Howe advanced, at day-break on the morning of the 11th of September, in two columns against the American position. The first, under the Hessian General Kniphausen, was directed against Chadd's ford, with the design of forcing a passage at that point. The main point of attack was, however, not there. This column, which was the right, was instructed to delay making

Sept. 11.

a final effort, until the other column had succeeded in its manœuvres. The left column, led by Generals Howe and Cornwallis, was composed of two-thirds of the whole strength of the British army. It was decided to make a considerable circuit towards the left, and crossing the forks of the Brandywine above, to descend against the American right, at the same time that the column at Chadd's ford should make a brisk charge in front. Washington, on being advised of the separation of the columns, immediately conceived the bold design, of leaving Generals Sullivan and Sterling to keep Howe and Cornwallis in check, and crossing the ford himself with the bulk of his force, to attack Kniphausen. While issuing his orders for this movement, information was brought him by Colonel Bland of Virginia, contradicting the first intelligence, and declaring the movement of the second column to be only a feint to divide the American strength, and that it had already commenced its return to join the Germans at Chadd's ford. In the uncertainty produced by these confused accounts, the order was countermanded, and the Americans continued their defence of the ford, under the expectation that Kniphausen would soon attempt to force a passage, supported by the whole British strength. At two o'clock, he had not made the attempt, and all doubt of the course of the left column was dissipated by intelligence that Generals Howe and Cornwallis had crossed the forks of the Brandywine, and were in full march down the north side of the river, against the American right. An immediate change of plan was ordered by Washington. Wayne was left to dispute the passage of the ford with Kniphausen, who was about making his concerted charge; Sullivan was ordered to march a division to the right, to oppose the advancing column, and General Greene, with his corps, was posted in the centre, as a reserve, to succor either party, as the circumstances might require. It was four o'clock before Sullivan reached ground upon which he could form, and before his right was properly in order, the enemy, under Cornwallis, attacked that side of his force, which instantly gave way, and the disorder spread irretrievably until the whole division was routed. As soon as the firing was heard in this direction, Washington in person, with General Greene and his corps, hastened to the aid of Sullivan, but arrived only in time to check the career of the enemy and cover the retreat of the flying troops. A Virginia brigade under General Weedon, Colonel Marshall's

Virginia regiment, and Colonel Stewart's Pennsylvania regiment, displayed the most determined spirit, and kept up the action with Cornwallis till night put a stop to it, and General Greene drew off his troops in safety. Wayne had been compelled to give way before Kniphausen, and the day terminated in the success of all the leading plans of the enemy. The whole American army retreated to Chester that same night, and soon after to Philadelphia. Their loss was computed at three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and nearly five hundred prisoners; they also lost ten field-pieces and a howitzer. The British loss was much less, not amounting to five hundred in all, of which the slain were about one hundred.

The French officers behaved with gallantry, and were of great service to the Americans. One of them, the Baron St. Ovary, was made prisoner; and the Marquis La Fayette, while rallying his troops with spirit and activity, was wounded in the leg, but refused to quit the field. Count Pulaski, a noble Pole, who had distinguished himself at home, led on the light-horse with undaunted gallantry, and Congress testified their sense of his merit, by promoting him to the rank of brigadier, and giving him the command of the cavalry.

The British followed up their successes the next day, by seizing upon Wilmington, on the Delaware.

The loss of the battle did not produce the dispiriting effect upon Congress or the army, which might have been anticipated. The coolness and courage with which many of the regiments had behaved, rather tended to beget a higher tone of confidence. Measures were taken to prevent any depression among the people, and to reinforce the army, and to manifest a feeling of perfect security. Fifteen hundred troops were sent from Peekskill; large detachments of militia summoned from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and a brigade of the regular line under General Smallwood, from Alexandria, to strengthen the army of Washington. The commander-in-chief was authorized to impress all horses, wagons, and provisions, necessary for the army. The general orders which he issued spoke in terms of commendation of the behavior of the army in the late engagement, and promised them success in another battle. Having allowed them to rest a day in the environs of Germantown, he resolved to try another general action, before yielding Philadelphia to the enemy With this determination he recrossed the Schuylkill on

Sept. 15th. | the 15th of September, and marched to face the British army, which was advancing upon Philadelphia by the Lancaster road. He took up a position at the Warren tavern, about twenty-three miles from Philadelphia, with the double object of covering his stores which were deposited at Reading, and waiting to give the enemy battle. The next morning the advance guards of the armies commenced an engagement which lasted only a few moments. A violent storm came on, which separated the combatants; the rain fell in such quantities and with such force, for the whole of that day and the next, that both parties were obliged to remain inactive, and the consequences compelled the American army to retreat immediately. It was found that their ammunition was damaged, and the gun-locks and cartridge-boxes, from defective construction were unfit for use. On the 18th, Washington filed off towards Reading, the enemy being unable, from the effects of the same storm, to pursue him. He ascended the Schuylkill, crossed it to obtain a supply of ammunition, and on the 19th, recrossed it at Par-

Sept. 19th. | ker's ferry, and took up a position, on Parkyomy creek, fortifying the passes and fronting the advancing enemy, with the determination of risking a battle.

A severe disaster occurred at this time to the republican forces. On recrossing the Schuylkill, Washington had detached General Wayne with 1500 men, to join the corps of Smallwood, and harass the rear of the enemy, with instructions to conceal his movements. While encamped near the Paoli tavern, his position was discovered, and he himself surprised by a British detachment under General Grey The out-posts and picquets were forced without noise, on the night of the 20th of September, and before the soldiers could form, a murderous slaughter commenced. When they did form, under a fierce attack, it was unfortunately in front of their fires, which exposed them to the charge of the British, and three hundred of them were bayonetted, with the loss of only eight of the enemy. Wayne, with great exertions, succeeded in rallying some of his soldiers and covering the retreat of the survivors.

Howe could now safely push forward towards Philadelphia Washington was before him, with an inferior army and with two most important points to defend. He could not protect the extensive magazines of provisions and military stores, established at Reading, without exposing the capital, almost

undefended, to be taken by a movement of the British army to the right, and crossing the Schuylkill. He could only hope to save Philadelphia, by interposing his army at once between General Howe and the capital, abandoning his stores, and risking a final and probably a fatal battle. The soldiers were fatigued and worn out, by constant marchings and counter-marchings, since the landing of the British at the Elk, on the 26th of August. Since the defeat of Brandywine, they had been exposed to heavy rains, without covering, destitute of stores, and scantily supplied in all things, and had crossed and recrossed several large streams, almost daily. To hazard both the capital, the army, and the stores, in a single action, under such circumstances, was decided by Washington to be too rash a scheme to be risked, although the calls of the citizens of Philadelphia for another battle were loud and urgent. He determined to abandon the city: and on a movement of the British on the west bank of the Schuylkill towards Reading, the American army retreated rapidly up the stream to Pottsgrove, leaving the lower road open to the enemy. On the night of the 23d of September, the whole British army was on the left bank of the Schuylkill, between Washington and the capital, and three days afterwards, General Cornwallis, without opposition, took possession of the city of Philadelphia with part of his troops. The rest of the army was left in position at Germantown. Four regiments were posted in the city. Sept. 26.

Congress, on the retreat of Washington from the Warren tavern on the 18th, considering themselves insecure in Philadelphia, had adjourned immediately to Lancaster. The public archives and stores were removed to the same place. On the fall of Philadelphia, they retired to Yorktown. Before removing, they invested Washington with the same dictatorial powers, as had been granted after the reverses in New Jersey. Some of the leading citizens in Philadelphia, chiefly Quakers, who were disaffected to the American cause, were arrested and sent to Virginia, as a measure of precaution.

On the occupation of the city by the enemy, Washington led his army, consisting of about eleven thousand men,—eight thousand regulars, and three thousand militia,—along the left bank of the Schuylkill; and encamped them at Schippack creek, about eleven miles from Germantown.

The British fleet, which had landed the army in the Ches-

apeake, were now ordered round into the Delaware. Foreseeing this, the Americans had taken early steps to obstruct the navigation of the river, so that the vessels could not pass up. Cheveaux de Frise were sunk in the river, and forts erected on Mud Island, at Red Bank, opposite on the Jersey shore, and at Billing's Point, on the same shore below. Mud Island is about seven miles below Philadelphia. In the channel between Mud Island and Red Bank, double rows of Cheveaux de Frise were sunk, consisting of large pieces of timber strongly clamped, and pointed with iron. These were protected by galleys, floating batteries, and armed ships.

The fort on Mud Island was called Fort Mifflin, and that upon Red Bank, Fort Mercer.

It was important to Sir William Howe, to destroy these works, and open a communication between the fleet and the army. The American army, lying above, would effectually obstruct all supplies by land; and unless means of access by water could be furnished to the fleet below, he would have been compelled to evacuate the city. Two regiments were accordingly despatched by General Howe to dislodge the Americans from Billing's Point, which was done without much difficulty. The garrison spiked the guns, and abandoned the works on the advance of the enemy. A part of the fleet was thus enabled to advance, and with great labor finally cleared out a narrow passage through the Cheveaux de Frise for the shipping. This being done, a third regiment was sent to Chester, to convoy a quantity of provisions to the camp, the whole under the command of Colonel Sterling. These three regiments, and the four battalions in Philadelphia, being separated from the main body, Washington determined to surprise the army of Howe at Germantown; and accordingly moved down rapidly from his camp at Schippack creek, on the evening of the 3d of October, and reached Germantown early on the 4th. His army had been strengthened by a reinforcement from Peekskill, and a body of Maryland militia.

The British lines crossed the valley of Germantown at right angles near its centre; its flanks were strongly guarded, and one of them, the left, rested upon the Schuylkill. The American army was divided into several columns, which made simultaneous attacks by different roads, upon the enemy's positions, and at first success seemed certain. About sunrise, General Sullivan drove in the British

Oct. 4.

piquets on the British left, and Greene was equally successful on the right. Several brigades penetrated the town, and victory appeared to be decided in favor of the Americans. The fortune of the day was changed by an unlooked for event. Colonel Musgrave, a British officer, in retreating before the division of Sullivan, threw himself, with his companies of light troops, into a stone house, called Chew's house, and made a most gallant and persevering defence. Every attempt to dislodge him proved ineffectual. The American line was checked, and thrown into disorder. A fog which had risen increased the confusion, and gave the enemy time to rally. The spirit of the troops flagged, and in the midst of a career of apparent victory, they were thus checked and finally began to retreat. All efforts to rally them were unavailing and Washington, seeing the battle lost, drew off his troops, just as Cornwallis came up with a squadron of horse, to the succor of the British. The pursuit continued for some miles, but the Americans saved all their artillery. Their loss was about two hundred killed, among whom was General Nash of North Carolina, six hundred wounded, and several hundred prisoners. Of the British, the killed were about one hundred in number, and the wounded four hundred.

The American army retreated about twenty miles to Parkyomy creek, and being reinforced by 1500 militia, returned to their old camp at Schippack. Congress by a vote approved of the plan of attack, and returned thanks to the officers and soldiers, for their conduct at the battle of Germantown.

General Howe immediately broke up his encampment at Germantown, and moved his whole force into the city. Provisions began to grow scarce, and he found it necessary to turn his whole attention to the opening of the navigation of the Delaware. Washington strengthened the garrisons at forts Mifflin and Mercer, called upon the government of New Jersey to turn out the militia to form a camp to support them, commanded all the roads leading to the city by his detachments, and under the authority of Congress proclaimed martial law against all citizens who should furnish the enemy with supplies. Thus situated, General Howe found, as Franklin sarcastically remarked, that "instead of taking Philadelphia, Philadelphia had taken him."

The main body of the American army took post at White Marsh, about fifteen miles from the city.

No change of position was made by either army, nor action of moment undertaken on either side, until the 22d of the month; previous to which the campaign in the North had concluded triumphantly, by the total defeat of the British, and the capture of Burgoyne and his army. To pursue a connected narrative of the events of 1777 in that quarter, it will be necessary to go back several months in the order of time, to the beginning of the campaign in the North.

CHAPTER X.

General Burgoyne, who had served in Canada in the campaign of 1776, under General Carleton, arrived at Quebec in the beginning of the month of May, 1777, and was followed by a large regular force from England, designed to make a descent upon the United States through Lake Champlain, and effect a junction with Sir William Howe at New York. This plan had always found favor with the ministry, and had been earnestly pressed upon them by Burgoyne on his return from America. His representations strengthened their opinion, that the most effectual means of subduing the revolutionary spirit, was to separate the States; so that New England, which was thought to be the principal seat of disturbance, would be cut off from communication with the rest of the country, and reduced to obedience. It was determined, therefore, to provide a powerful army, well appointed in every respect, to make success certain. Burgoyne, whose personal solicitations had done much to hasten and arrange the expedition, was made commander-in-chief, to the prejudice of Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of Canada, whose popularity as a man of talents and energy, was very high, and who had contributed so efficiently to the recovery of the provinces the year before. Carleton, dissatisfied with being superseded, asked leave to resign, but with honorable magnanimity exerted the utmost zeal and activity in forwarding the objects of the expedition. The regular corps of the army, consisting of British and Hessians, amounted to about *seven thousand* men, exclusive of the artillery corps. The brass train sent out for the service, was esteemed the finest and best appointed, ever allotted to a force of that magnitude. To these was added a detachment of 700 rangers, under Colonel St. Leger, destined to make an incursion into the Mohawk country to seize Fort Stanwix, otherwise called fort Schuyler. It was also ordered that two thousand Canadians, consisting of hatchmen and other workmen, should join the army, to aid in forcing a way through the woods. Seamen were collected for manning the necessary vessels to command the Lake, and convey the troops down

the Hudson. Other parties were collected to scour the country on the frontier, and occupy the intermediate posts, amounting to at least three thousand men. Every aid, of arms, munitions of war, provisions, clothing, and baggage of all descriptions, was amply provided, and sanguine calculations were made that by this army the rebellion would be put down at once.

The generals who accompanied Burgoyne, were eminent and veteran officers. Among the principal were General Philips of the artillery, and generals Reidesel and Specht, Germans, and the British generals Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton.

The Americans, on the other hand, had paid early attention to their defence, in that quarter. They had constructed an additional fort, on the opposite side of the strait on which Ticonderoga stands, which they called Mount Independence. The obstruction of the navigation was a great point, and they sunk cassoons in the channel, so as to serve also as a bridge of communication between the forts, and to prevent the British from drawing their small craft over land into Lake George, they also obstructed the navigation of that lake. Fort Schuyler was fortified, and other forts erected along the Mohawk river. Requisitions were made for thirteen thousand six hundred men for the security of the district, and the adjacent States were called upon to fill up their militia in readiness for an active campaign. General Schuyler was appointed to the command of the northern campaign at an early date, thus superseding General Gates, a nomination which produced no little dissatisfaction at the time. He took the command on the 3d of June, and despatched General St. Clair immediately to Ticonderoga. Burgoyne's plan of the campaign was two-fold. He, with the main army, was to proceed by Champlain and the Hudson, to Albany, and Colonel St. Leger, with a second detachment of about two thousand troops, was directed to ascend the St. Lawrence, and by the Oswego and Fort Stanwix, join the general at Albany. Thence both were to proceed by the Hudson to New York.

The preparations being completed, on the most elaborate and careful scale, Burgoyne moved forward, and in the beginning of the last week in June, arrived in the neighborhood of Crown Point. He held a conference at the river Bouquet with his Indian allies, many of

June 24th.

which had been engaged, by the influence of governor Carleton. He addressed them in terms of energy, to excite them to take part with the royal forces, and endeavored to impress upon them the necessity of regarding the laws of civilized warfare, in their mode of combat, and the treatment of their captives. Having fully secured the co-operation of the Indians, he endeavored to improve the advantage their alliance gave him, in intimidating the Americans. On the 29th of June, he issued a proclamation, with the design of spreading terror among them, magnifying the force of the armies and fleets prepared to crush the revolted colonies, and insisting upon the numbers and ferocity of their Indian allies. Promises of favor and support were held out to such as should aid in establishing the government of the king, and all the horrors of war and devastation threatened against those who should persist in rebellion. Thousands of Indians, he admonished them, were ready at his bidding, to be let loose against, "the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America." This proclamation justly provoked some animadversion in England, and was strongly censured in both houses of parliament. In the United States it kindled a general indignation at the atrocity of its sentiments, mingled with derision at its pompous denunciations. The temper of the people was too stern for such intimidations, and his grandiloquent threats of Indian massacres, served to inflame resentment, and stimulate resistance. June 29th.

All preparations being made, Burgoyne advanced towards Ticonderoga; there he expected to meet with a vigorous opposition. The natural strength of the post, and its great importance as the key to the navigation of the lakes, commanding the entrance to the interior of New York, justified him in believing that a strong effort would be made to preserve the fort, and check his advance. But the garrison under General St. Clair, was totally inadequate to its defence. Their numbers did not exceed three thousand men, badly armed, particularly in the essential article of bayonets, in which they were almost totally deficient. The militia which had been called for to reinforce them, had not arrived, and no rational expectation was entertained of a successful defence, unless the enemy should undertake to carry the place, by a general assault, in which the bravery of the Americans might have foiled them, by a gallant and fortunate repulse. Burgoyne, however, acted with more caution; and having

landed his troops on the 15th of July, advanced regularly on both sides of the lake, while his fleet kept the centre. Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were both invested, and in a few days nearly surrounded by the enemy's works. They had also established themselves at Sugar-loaf hill, or Mount Defiance, as it was also called, an eminence which overlooked both posts, but which the Americans had not been able to fortify or man for their defence. All the American works were now fully exposed to the fire of the enemy, and a bombardment from all points simultaneously, was to be hourly expected, when General St. Clair called a council of war to

July 5th. | determine whether it would be better to withdraw all the troops within Mount Independence, and defend that post to the last extremity, or abandon the whole. It was unanimously recommended to him to retreat, as soon as possible, which was accordingly undertaken with promptitude and secrecy, that same night. The garrison, divided into two bodies, the first under St. Clair, and the second commanded by Colonel Francis, took up their route for Castleton, by the way of Hubbardstown, along the right bank of the lake. The baggage, stores, and sick, were embarked in batteaux, and despatched under the convoy of five galleys, and escorted by a detachment, commanded by Colonel Long, to Skenesborough, or Whitehall, on Lake George. A storm which rose towards morning embarrassed the movements of all these parties, and the accidental firing of a house, gave notice to the enemy of what was going on. The land detachments had pushed forward with rapidity, before the pursuit was fully commenced, and it was found necessary to clear the obstructions in the channel before the British fleet could get into motion, to follow Colonel Long and his convoy. Burgoyne himself accompanied the fleet, which, favored by winds and superior sailing, overtook the Americans near the Skenesborough falls, and soon overpowered them. Two of the batteaux were captured and several destroyed in the battle, upon which Colonel Long destroyed the others, with all the stores, provisions, and baggage, together with the works and mills, of the place, and hastily retreated to Fort Anne.

The divisions which left the fort by the land route, were pursued by a corps of British troops under General Frazer,

July 7th. | and one of German under General Reidesel. On the seventh, they overtook the American forces commanded by Colonel Francis, at Hubbardstown, and after an

obstinately contested action, routed them with considerable loss. Among the killed was Colonel Francis, and the killed, wounded, and missing, many of whom perished for want in the woods, were not far from one thousand in number. The British lost one hundred and eighty. General St. Clair, with his own division, learning these several disasters, instead of proceeding, as had been his design, to Fort Anne, where Colonel Long with his corps had taken refuge, turned off into the woods, and having collected as many as possible of the fugitives from the defeat at Hubbardstown, proceeded across the country to Fort Edward on the Hudson, to unite with General Schuyler, whose head-quarters were there. Colonel Long after resisting gallantly the attack of several British regiments sent against his post, set it on fire, and withdrew to Fort Edward.

St. Clair joined General Schuyler on the 12th July. After his arrival, the whole American force, including the fugitives that came in, and the recruits that had been collected at Fort Edward, was about 4400 men, including the militia, without supplies, arms, or ammunition. The Americans had lost in the late reverses, one hundred and ninety-eight pieces of artillery, and a vast amount of warlike stores and provisions, especially flour, that had been necessarily abandoned in their flight. They had, moreover, lost confidence, and a general terror fell upon the country. The power and successes of the enemy were portrayed in exaggerated terms. Indeed, a comparison of the scanty remnants of a northern army assembled at Fort Edward, with the victorious troops of Burgoyne, gave but too strong causes for gloomy apprehensions. The popular discontent vented itself in loud censures of the conduct of General St. Clair, in abandoning Ticonderoga, and of General Schuyler, for the whole arrangement of the campaign. An inquiry into their conduct subsequently ordered by Congress, terminated after a long delay in their acquittal of all misconduct; but the confidence of the army and the people, was withdrawn from them, at the most critical period. It is evident, from a review of the whole case, that the actual condition of the garrison was not sufficiently known to Congress, and its strength very much overrated. If blame is to be attached to St. Clair at all, it is now agreed, that it should be not for abandoning the fort at last, but for holding out so long. But at the time murmurs were loud against the whole direction of the army, and this distrust in the

officers retarded very much the progress of the recruiting service. Fort George, which had remained in possession of the Americans, was evacuated, and shortly after, it was found impossible to retain Fort Edward. On the 22d, the whole army retired to Moses' creek, and on the 30th, retreated still further to Saratoga, and still unable to make an efficient stand,

Aug. 20. | continued their retreat to Stillwater, at which place they finally encamped on the 20th of August.

Burgoyne, in the interim had employed his army in a laborious effort to open a direct communication across the country, from Whitehall to Fort Edward on the Hudson, through the woods. The distance is comparatively small, but the nature of the country was such, as to make the passage almost impracticable to a large body of men, and General Schuyler had been active in increasing the difficulties by every means in his power. The bridges over the streams, of which there had been a great number, were broken up, and the defiles through which the paths usually ran, were obstructed by large trees, which he had caused to be cut down, so as to fall, across the way and lengthwise, and thus interlock their branches to present an almost insurmountable barrier. In this toilsome undertaking the British were compelled to construct not less than forty bridges, one of which was a log-work two miles long, across a morass. A party which had been left at Ticonderoga was equally active in conveying gunboats, provisions, and batteaux over land to Lake George. On the advance of the British towards Fort Edward, by this route, which place they reached on the 30th of July, and the consequent abandonment of Fort George, and the retreat of the army of the Americans, the route from Ticonderoga was left open, and the rest of the transportation required for the army, was carried on from Fort George to the navigable waters of the Hudson, a distance of eighteen miles across the country. So difficult was even this route, though preferable to that by Whitehall, that a fortnight had elapsed—from the thirtieth of July to the fifteenth of August—before provisions for only four days consumption had been collected; and not ten batteaux had been afloat on the river. Heavy rains obstructed the works, and it was found impossible to procure supplies for daily use, except what were brought from Ticonderoga. The effect of the progress of the army, triumphant thus far, began to be weakened. The joy with which the possession of the Hud-

son was hailed, was succeeded by embarrassment and anxiety—even without an opposing force; and the delay gave the Americans time to rally.

Proclamations had been issued by both sides. Burgoyne announced, in the language of a conqueror, the victories of the English, and the approaching subjugation of all America, and called upon the inhabitants to send deputations to give in their adhesion to the regal cause. Schuyler reiterated the determination of the States to hold out to the last, invoking the perseverance of the people in the good cause, by every consideration of duty, interest, and patriotism.

He availed himself skilfully of every day's delay to abate the panic which had at first overwhelmed the people, to rekindle their courage, and rouse them to arms. In this he was most effectually aided, by the conduct of the British and their allies, Germans and Indians. The barbarities practised in New Jersey arose fresh in their recollections, and the cruelties committed by the Indians in Burgoyne's army, whom he found it impossible to restrain, contributed to make the royal cause odious, and inflame the resentment of Americans. When the republican army began to retreat down the Hudson, the spirit of the country began to rise again. A new army seemed to spring out of the woods and mountains. All around the march of the enemy, parties of militia poured from every hill and valley to harass them with partizan attacks, and cut off their supplies. As the regular force of Schuyler, wasted by toils and defeats, diminished, it was recruited by increased numbers of fresh and spirited yeomanry. Washington reinforced them with several regiments from Peekskill, commanded by Arnold, and, without waiting the order of Congress, called out the militia of New England, and placed them under the command of General Lincoln. Morgan, with his riflemen, was detached for the land service, so that, by the middle of August, the army amounted to about *thirteen thousand* men, and the militia were ripe every where for co-operation. The Polish hero, Kosciusko, was in the army, as chief engineer.

The second division of Burgoyne's forces, under Colonel St. Leger, had been, as stated above, appointed to ascend the St Lawrence, from Quebec, and penetrating through the Mohawk country, to intercept the Americans at the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson, and unite with the main army there. He had succeeded in reaching Fort Schuyler, to which he laid

siege, with his regular force, and a large party of Indians, commanded by Sir John Johnson, the whole amounting to about 2,000 men. General Herkimer raised a party of the neighboring militia, and pushed on to the relief of the garrison, but unfortunately allowed himself to be led into an English ambuscade, in which he was defeated and slain, with the loss of one hundred and sixty of his men, killed. The militia defended themselves with great resolution and obstinacy. Few of them would have escaped, but for a vigorous and gallant sortie from the fort, led by Colonel Willett, which suddenly attacked the camp of the besiegers, killed a great many, drove numbers into the woods, and, having seized a large quantity of baggage, and besieging tools, returned to the fort in triumph, and without loss. This diversion enabled the remainder of Herkimer's detachment to save themselves by retreat. In these combats the Indians behaved with such ferocity and insubordination, as to alarm the British officers, not only for the reputation of their arms, but for the fidelity of their savage allies. Distrust grew up between them, and acts of violence against each other shortly after occurred, to increase the mutual dislike. St. Leger availed himself of the immediate terror produced by this defeat to demand the surrender of the fortress from Colonel Gansevoort, the commander. He employed every art of intimidation to increase the impression produced by the violence and cruelty of the Indians, and represented himself as unable to restrain them, if the defence should be continued longer. The immediate massacre of the garrison, and of every man, woman, and child in the Mohawk country, was set forth as the unavoidable consequence of opposition to the Indians. The answer of Colonel Gansevoort was simple. The United States had entrusted him with the charge of the garrison, and "he was determined to defend it to the last extremity against all enemies whatsoever, without any concern for the consequences of doing his duty." Colonel Willett, who had led the successful sortie, performed, in company with another officer, another daring feat, in order to obtain succor for the beleagured fortress. They passed, by night, through the midst of the British camp, escaped the sagacity even of the Indians, and made their way, for a distance of fifty miles, through pathless woods and morasses, to give notice of the danger of the garrison. Information reached General Schuyler on the 27th July, and Arnold was immediately despatched

Aug. 6th.

with eight hundred men, and a few militia who could be prevailed upon to join him, to Fort Schuyler. Their numbers were inferior to those of St. Leger, and Arnold accordingly had recourse to a stratagem, to terrify the Indians in St. Leger's camp, which completely succeeded. An emissary, Cuyler by name, was sent among the Indians, as a deserter, with instructions to magnify the numbers of the Americans, who were approaching. This finesse was aided by the discontent already existing among them, and their disappointment at the protracted defence of the fort. A part of them hastily decamped, and the rest threatened to follow, unless a retreat was instantly ordered. The siege, which had been continued for eighteen days, was precipitately raised, before Arnold's arrival, and in such disorder that most of the artillery, stores, tents, and baggage, fell into the hands of the garrison. In the retreat, the Indians quarrelled with their allies, and robbed them. A violent quarrel broke out between the commanding officers, St. Leger and Johnson, which was with difficulty appeased.

Whilst the contest for the possession of Fort Schuyler was going on, an action was fought at Bennington, which gave the first decisive turn to the current of events that had been hitherto so adverse to the American cause in the North. Burgoyne, desirous of aiding the advance of St. Leger's forces, thought to occupy the attention of the American army by a sudden and rapid advance down the Hudson. They were between him and Albany, in considerable strength. If he could engage them in front, so as to prevent them from succoring Fort Schuyler, they might be assailed in flank by the other division descending the Mohawk, and forced either to risk a general battle or to retire into New England. The difficulty of maintaining a communication with Fort Edward and Fort George, whence all his supplies were drawn, presented an obstacle to his rapid movement. This he determined to remove by seizing upon a quantity of stores which the Americans had collected at Bennington, in Vermont, distant about twenty miles from the Hudson. The magazines were guarded only by parties of militia, and the intermediate country was represented to be favorably disposed to the royalists. A plan was formed to capture those stores, and, the army being thus supplied to push on boldly against the republican camp. Aug. 22d.

The detachment ordered on this service consisted of about

five hundred men, chiefly Hessians and Canadians, with about one hundred Indians, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, a German officer of distinction. To support him, a Brunswick regiment of grenadiers and light-infantry, under Colonel Breyman, were directed to follow and take post at Batten Hill. Baum advanced with considerable difficulty on account of the badness of the roads, but with little hostile opposition, until he approached the town of Bennington, where he found an unexpected force prepared to oppose him. Colonel Stark, with a party of New Hampshire militia, was on his way to the American camp, when intelligence of the expedition of Baum was brought him. He hastened to collect the neighboring militia to repulse him. Baum, after some skirmishing with part of the American force, finding them too numerous for him, encamped upon advantageous ground, on Walloon Creek, about four miles from Bennington, and sent for reinforcements. A storm of rain retarded as well the operations of Colonel Stark, as the advance of the expected succors, for two days. On the 16th, Stark, having been strengthened by the arrival of some militia, determined upon attacking the Hessians in their entrenchments before a junction could be formed with Breyman's regiment. He divided his force into several divisions, and charged the enemy in front, flank, and rear, at nearly the same time, with great impetuosity. Baum made a gallant resistance: after his artillery had been captured, and his ammunition expended, he led on the Hessians, sword in hand; and was only conquered by the repeated and overwhelming charges of Stark's militia. The Americans fought with extraordinary spirit, and their firing was compared, in the official account of the battle, to "one uninterrupted peal of thunder." The corps of Breyman arrived on the field immediately after the discomfiture of Baum's division, and while the Americans were dispersed in pursuit, not expecting another engagement. They rallied to attack this new enemy, and a sharp contest recommenced, about four in the afternoon. The battle was soon decided in favour of the Americans, by the charge of Colonel Warner, at the head of a regiment of the line; and the Germans gave way, and were pursued until dark, with the loss of their baggage, artillery, and arms. The royalists lost in these two battles, about seven hundred men, the greater part prisoners The American loss was about seventy.

Aug. 16th.

The fruits of this battle were of the highest value, independent of the mere loss of men to the enemy, considerable as that was. It was the first victory which had been gained by the armies of the United States in the campaign. In every direction they had been retreating before superior forces, and manœuvring to avoid the enemy ever since the month of March. In the southern department Washington had carefully avoided an engagement with Howe, and from the first appearance of Burgoyne before Ticonderoga, nothing but defeat had befallen the arms of America. The battle of Bennington changed the face of affairs, and reanimated the courage of the militia. They had met a highly disciplined corps in the open field, and defeated them by hard fighting, and had taken by assault a camp entrenched strongly and defended by regulars. As a military achievement, it was just ground for general exultation. It restored confidence, gratified national pride, and kindled military enthusiasm by the trophies of victory which it furnished. On the British this effect was reversed. Defeat produced mortification if not absolute depression. The direct effects of the loss, in the condition and prospects of the army, were severe,—and, as the event showed, of fatal importance. It deranged the entire plan of the campaign, arrested the advance movement which had been contemplated, and compelled the army to halt, inactive, in an enemy's country, until the necessary supplies could be brought from Fort George. The delay was a loss to them of nearly a month,—from the sixteenth of August to the thirteenth of September,—within which period the Americans, flushed with the triumphs of Bennington and Fort Schuyler, were recruiting their forces, and gathering all things necessary for following up those successes vigorously.

Congress, on the 4th of August, had superseded General Schuyler, and on the 21st General Gates arrived and assumed the command. The army was then encamped at Vanshaick's Island, and Burgoyne occupying his camp on the left bank of the Hudson, was employed in transporting supplies from the lakes. Soon after the arrival of Gates, the army received the reinforcements already mentioned, including Morgan's celebrated corps of riflemen, and the New York militia, raised by the indefatigable activity of George Clinton.

A daring enterprise was undertaken, about the same time,

by a party of New England militia, who penetrated across the country, in the rear of the British, seized on a number of posts on the lake, and actually laid siege to Ticonderoga, but, from a deficiency of artillery, were compelled to retire. This gallant corps was under the direction of General Lincoln.

The indignation of the Americans was aggravated by an atrocious act of murder, committed by some of the Indian allies of Burgoyne, on the person of an amiable and accomplished young lady. Miss M'Crea, of Fort Edward, the daughter of an American loyalist, was betrothed to a British officer, in the army of Burgoyne, and on the approach of the army the impatient lover sent a party of Indians to conduct his bride to the British camp. She consented to accompany them, but, on the road, her savage guides quarrelled about the reward that had been promised them, and, exasperated by mutual contradictions, ended the dispute by ferociously murdering the innocent victim. So horrible an incident under circumstances appealing so strongly to the sympathies, roused a universal cry of detestation against the employment of Indians in civilized warfare, and stimulated the Americans to deeper resentment against the army in which such allies were employed. Burgoyne answered the indignant representations of Gates by arresting the murderers but subsequently pardoned them, as an act of policy, not the less reprobating the inhuman act. This policy did not succeed in retaining the aid of the Indians. Already dissatisfied with delay and inaction, and disappointed of the plunder they had expected, they resented the attempt to restrain them further, and deserted in great numbers. The Canadians were not more faithful, and in a few weeks he found that all the force he could rely upon was the British and Hessian regulars. Finally, having supplied himself with thirty days provisions from the magazines in his rear, he took the bold step of breaking up his line of intercourse with Canada, and crossed the river to the left bank with his whole force. Four days after he encamped at Saratoga, in front of the army of Gates, which lay encamped near Stillwater, about three miles below.

Sept. 13th.

This movement separated him from his communications with the supplies in his rear, and threw him at once upon the resources of his army, to force their way through to Albany, and form a junction with the forces of Sir Henry

Clinton from below. The event showed that he had miscalculated his own strength and that of his opponents, and that the plan of co-operation between the two armies had not been thoroughly understood. The expedition from New York failed in the most essential points, and from the day of the crossing of the Hudson the fate of his army was determined, and a few weeks saw it surrounded and captured by the republican forces, over whom he had promised himself an easy victory.

On the nineteenth, the battle of Stillwater was fought by the two armies, with great obstinacy and courage. Although there was no decisive result on the field, it had all the effects of a victory to the Americans. They, for the first time in the campaign, met the British regulars in a pitched battle, and maintained their ground with unexpected firmness and success. The conflict began between scouting parties, and continued irregularly for an hour and a half, each being gradually reinforced until both armies were engaged, and a hot and prolonged firing was kept up for three hours. The British and Americans were alternately driven back, but rallied again with determined courage, and each party seemed resolute in maintaining their position at all hazards. The British had the advantage of several pieces of artillery, which were taken and recovered several times during the action. Night put an end to the prolonged battle, without positive defeat on either side. But, as the enemy fought to force the position of the Americans, and did not succeed while the latter remained where they were in the morning, the fruits of a victory were evidently theirs, independently of the vast moral effect of having arrested the progress of Burgoyne in a regular battle. The Indians and Canadians, in particular, who had remained with the British, were disheartened, and deserted in increasing numbers. The actual loss of that army, in killed and wounded, was about five hundred; of the Americans, three hundred and twenty. Arnold distinguished himself in this battle by his daring and almost desperate bravery. An unfortunate dispute occurred not long afterwards between him and General Gates, which produced such resentment that he threw up his command. The cause of offence was the assumption by Gates of the direction of a part of the army, which Arnold thought subject exclusively to his own direction. This was one of the first of the dissensions which provoked the

Sept. 19th.

excitable temper of Arnold, and led, among other and baser causes, to his subsequent betrayal of his country.

After the battle of Stillwater, Burgoyne encamped near the former position, entrenching himself for the purpose of waiting the expected co-operation of Clinton, from New York. Gates followed his example, fortifying his lines, encouraging his army by frequent skirmishes with the enemy, and increasing their numbers constantly by the numerous bodies of militia, which flocked to him now that the prospect of success became so flattering. General Lincoln brought two thousand men of the best New England troops, and, on the retirement of Arnold, succeeded to his command. On the 4th of October, the American army was eleven thousand strong, of whom at least seven thousand were effective men, and the British little exceeded four thousand. Burgoyne had but three weeks provisions in store, and a return to Ticonderoga would occupy at least eight days, under the most favourable train of events. He had therefore but a fortnight in which to expect the co-operation of Clinton, to force his way against the American army, or to commence a retreat. Such, in a few days, had been the change of prospects in an army which had set out so triumphantly only a month before.

In the middle of September Burgoyne received a communication from Clinton, promising a tardy and inefficient expedition, compared to what had been expected, to move up the North River, in order to occupy the army of Gates by an assault from below, and thus aid the Northern army. Replies were instantly despatched, stating the condition of the army, and informing Clinton that the provisions in store would not enable it to hold out beyond the 12th of October. It was therefore all important that an early movement should be made to relieve it. In the beginning of October it became necessary to reduce the soldiers rations, and news from below was looked for with intense anxiety. No intelligence being received, he determined upon making a stronger effort than he had heretofore ventured on and, on the afternoon of the seventh, made an attack, which brought on the decisive battle of Saratoga.

Burgoyne himself, aided by Generals Phillips, Reidesel, and Fraser, led a picked column of fifteen hundred men against the American left. His left flank was commanded by Major Ackland, and his right by the Earl of Balcarras.

The battle was opened by the Americans simultaneously against the right and left wings, with extraordinary impetuosity. General Poor, with the New Hampshire militia, attacked the left; and Morgan, with his riflemen, poured in his irresistible charge upon the right, which, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to give way. In the meantime the Americans had extended their assault along the whole line of Germans, and pushed forward a detachment to intercept them in their retreat. The battle was obstinate and bloody, but did not last long. In less than an hour the British left gave way before the repeated assaults of the Americans, and the whole line, attacked in front and driven back upon both flanks, was compelled to retire in confusion. The assailants followed them up, and a part of the lines were forced by a regiment of which Arnold had assumed the command. During the whole fight he performed feats of courage and audacity, almost frantic—dashing into the midst of the enemy, fighting single-handed, and leading on troops in every part of the field. The fighting did not terminate till nightfall, and the British army rested, with the loss of four hundred killed and wounded, among whom were several of their best officers. They lost besides, eight field pieces, some tents, carts, and a considerable quantity of baggage. The American killed and wounded did not exceed eighty.

The British General Fraser was mortally wounded in the action. His obsequies were performed at the close of the next day, with great solemnity, in the darkness of night, amidst the blaze and roar of the American cannon, the balls dashing the earth in the faces of the mourners over the corpse. Gates was, at the time, unaware of the nature of the ceremony.

On the night after the battle, Burgoyne, perceiving his position no longer tenable against the approaches of the enemy, determined upon a change of ground, which he effected successfully and without loss, taking up a stronger position. The Americans instantly occupied his abandoned camp. He waited under arms the whole of the next day, in expectation of a renewed battle; but nothing but a few skirmishings took place. In one of these General Lincoln was dangerously wounded. General Gates was not inclined to risk the fruits of so decisive an action, by making an attack at disadvantage. He preferred dispatching detachments to occupy the fords of the river, to obstruct the retreat of Burgoyne in that direction,

and another strong force to reach beyond his right flank, and thus surround him. The British general, hastily abandoning his hospital to the humanity of the Americans, put his army immediately in motion, and retreated to Saratoga, six miles up the river, by a night march. On this march, his soldiers burnt and destroyed the houses and other property on their way. Gates followed them step by step, cautiously, without giving him any opportunity of battle. He hastened to occupy Fort Edward, in order to secure the passage of the river there. On the 10th and 11th, the two armies were near each other, and some skirmishes took place between them at Fishkill creek. The Americans were, however, in such force there, as to destroy all hope of being able to cross, and Burgoyne accordingly determined, as his last hope, to abandon his artillery, baggage, carriages, and encumbrances of every kind, except provisions to be carried on the backs of the soldiers, and, by a rapid night march up the river, to cross above Fort Edward, and force a passage to Fort George. His scouts, sent out to reconnoitre, reported the roads to be almost impracticable, and further information of the precautions taken by the Americans, compelled him to abandon even this forlorn expedition. Abandoned by his Indian and Canadian allies, his troops worn out with toil and fighting, destitute of supplies, their numbers reduced from ten thousand, healthy and effective men, to less than five thousand, and surrounded by an army three times their number, and too secure of triumph to risk the chance of a battle, Burgoyne was forced to relinquish all hope of extricating himself, and depend, as his only chance, upon the aid of Clinton from below, and that within a few days. That feeble hope was vain. Clinton, whose tardiness in the whole campaign is inexplicable, never moved up the river till the 5th of October. His force was about three thousand men, and his first enterprise was against Fort Montgomery, which commands the passage of the river, at the entrance of the Highlands. The strength of the works was towards the river, which Sir Henry Clinton avoided, by landing his men at Stoney Point, below, and marching them to attack the land side of the fort. He had made several feints of landing in other places, but his true design was foreseen, and the fort manned as strongly as possible, under the direction of Governor George Clinton, and his brother, General James Clinton. The resistance was bravely maintained until dark, when the British entered

the fort, with fixed bayonets. The defenders fought their way out of the fort, and under the cover of the night escaped, with little loss. Sir Henry Clinton, at the same time, took possession of Fort Clinton, and then employed himself at his leisure in removing the obstructions to the navigation, which had been constructed by the Americans. With a free navigation before him, instead of proceeding to the assistance of Burgoyne, then in great strait, and anxiously looking for succor, he lost his time, and disgraced his arms by ravaging and plundering the country. Tryon, with one party, totally destroyed a settlement, called Continental Village; and another division of the force, under Sir James Wallace, devastated the property and farm-houses on both sides of the river, without compunction and wantonly. On the thirteenth of October, General Vaughan landed at Esopus, or Kingston, a fine and flourishing village, on the west bank of the Hudson, and laid it in ruins; not a house was left standing. Every thing upon which their vengeance could be wreaked, was burnt or destroyed. Their acts were well calculated to excite keenly the resentment of the Americans, against the authors of such savage barbarities; but General Gates was too wise to be tempted to weaken his force by detaching any portion of it against the marauders. He suffered them to exhaust their time in injuring private individuals and plundering private property, while he pressed more closely upon the devoted army, so completely hemmed in by the republican forces. He wrote an indignant letter to Vaughan, after Burgoyne's surrender, which contained the following threat: "Abler generals and older officers than you can pretend to be, are now, by the fortune of war, in my hands. Their fortune may one day be yours, when, sir, it may not be in the power of any thing human, to save you from the just revenge of an injured people." Why this course was pursued, and a week lost in these predatory excursions, when a vigorous march would have brought them within reach of Burgoyne, and perhaps afforded him a chance for escape, has never been explained to the credit of the sagacity or courage of the British general.

Oct. 6th.

On the day that Esopus was burnt, Burgoyne took an account of his provisions, and found no more on hand than would suffice for three days subsistence. Retreat was cut off, to fight was hopeless, no succor was approaching, every moment made his condition more des-

Oct. 13th.

perate. His men were compelled to lie on their arms, day and night, harassed with the continued apprehensions of assault. Every part of his camp was exposed to uninterrupted cannonading, and even rifle and grapeshot reached the lines. A council of war was accordingly summoned, and so closely were they beset that bullets whistled by the tent in which the council was held. It was determined to open a treaty with the American general; and after several days of negotiation and conference, a convention was agreed upon on the fifteenth, and on the seventeenth was regularly signed, by which the whole British army surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Intelligence of the approach of Clinton was received by Burgoyne during the negotiations, but they had advanced so far, that had he been inclined to expect succor confidently, he could not have receded honourably. It is also related in Wilkinson's Memoirs, that before the convention was absolutely signed, part of the American force left the camp and returned home, and the rest, believing the treaty concluded, gave themselves up to carelessness and indolence, so as to give serious apprehensions of the event, had Burgoyne refused to proceed, and tried the issue of an attack. In fact, he addressed a note to General Gates suspending the treaty, on the ground of information he had received, that the superiority of numbers on the part of the Americans, which was the basis of the treaty, no longer existed, and requiring satisfaction on this head. The decision of the American general in refusing the request peremptorily, and demanding an immediate conclusion of the treaty, or an immediate renewal of hostilities, prevented the evil consequences. One hour was given to determine the cessation of arms, or conclude the capitulation: within which time the articles were fully ratified. The British council of war alleged that they consented principally because they thought themselves bound in good faith not to retract at that point.

Oct. 17th.

The principal articles of the treaty, which by stipulation between the commanding officers was entitled a *Convention*, instead of a *Capitulation*, were: that the army should march out of their camp with all the honors of war, and leave their artillery and arms in a designated spot; that they should be allowed embarkation and passage to Europe, from Boston, on engaging not to serve in America during the war: that they should be kept together, especially the officers, with

the men; roll calling, and other military duties, to be allowed them. The officers were to be admitted to parole, and to retain their side arms. All private property and baggage was to be passed without molestation or inspection, and public property given up on honour. Every description of persons attached to the camp was included in the capitulation; the Canadians to be returned to their own country, liable to the same conditions.

These terms were honorable to the moderation and magnanimity of the American general, especially as at the time he was in possession of tidings of the atrocious conduct of the British on the Hudson. His delicacy was also strongly marked on the occasion of the delivery of the arms of the captives on the day of the surrender. A small party was appointed to receive them, and the rest of the American army retired within the lines. Every possible attention was paid to the sick and wounded, and to the comfort and support of the whole army. The whole conduct of the Americans was marked with a tenderness and generosity which called forth the unqualified acknowledgments of the enemy. Burgoyne in person was treated with a courtesy which touched his feelings deeply at the time. At Albany he was lodged as an honored guest, with the family of General Schuyler, whose mansion and estate at Saratoga had been destroyed by Burgoyne's order. In Boston he was entertained with the same hospitality in the house of General Heath.

On the day of the surrender, the American army amounted to about fifteen thousand men, of whom ten thousand were regulars, that of Burgoyne, to 5791, of whom 2412 were Germans, and 3379 English. Among the spoils were the train of brass artillery, containing forty-two pieces; four thousand six hundred muskets, and an immense quantity of warlike stores.

Immediately after the surrender of Burgoyne, Gates marched down the Hudson to stop the devastations of Clinton and Vaughan. They immediately withdrew to New York; and, at the same time, Ticonderoga, and all the forts on the American frontier, were abandoned by the British and occupied by the Patriots. In a short time, the whole Northern department was freed from the enemy, and reinforcements were despatched to Washington.

The tidings of the capture of Burgoyne's army circulated

rapidly, and was received with unbounded exultation. As a presage of future victories, it was invaluable to the military spirit of the people, and was hailed with transports of joy as a certain pledge of the speedy establishment of Independence. It was also justly esteemed as giving such an assurance of success as would not fail to secure foreign alliances and European acknowledgments of the United States as an independent power.

The thanks of Congress were voted to General Gates and his army, and gold medals ordered to be struck to commemorate the glorious event.

The manner in which the *Convention* of Saratoga was subsequently observed is a disputed point in history, in which charges of bad faith are mutually made by each nation against the other. A brief notice of the leading facts will show that there were faults on both sides, and that if an unusual distrust of the intentions of the British was displayed by Congress, the true cause, if not altogether satisfactory at least defensible, is to be found in the earlier breaches of humanity, and violations of military usage, practised on American prisoners by Gage in Massachusetts, and Howe in New York and New Jersey. It is certain that the patriots who first fell into the hands of the British were held to be rebels, and denied the ordinary privileges of lawful prisoners of war. When this rigid system was relaxed so as to acknowledge their title to such treatment, they fared little better. They were refused almost every courtesy; kept in harsh, and sometimes barbarous, confinement; and in numerous instances made the victims of atrocious personal ill usage and persecution. The subject of an exchange of prisoners was, as mentioned before, one of dispute and recrimination between the commanding generals, and of resentment to Congress, from the delays, denials, and equivocations of General Howe. In the midst of these rankling causes for suspicion and anger, the Convention of Saratoga threw a preponderating number of British prisoners into the power of Congress. It is not possible that they should not have desired to keep that vast number rigidly to the terms of capitulation, and employ the victory so as to enforce the claims of their own captive countrymen, and looked with extreme sensitiveness upon any indication of willingness on the part of any portion of them to violate the terms. It is moreover rational, if not magnanimous, that they should

suspect a repetition of what they had experienced before, and perhaps too natural, that they should improve the pretexts which the conduct of any portion of the prisoners gave them, to sustain them in taking strong precautionary measures.

On the arrival of the captured army at Boston, the soldiers were lodged in barracks, provided by the authorities; but from the unpopularity of the officers, it was difficult to obtain suitable quarters for them. They complained to Burgoyne, who remonstrated with General Gates, complaining that it was a breach of the treaty stipulations. This was followed by a request to change the place of embarkation from Boston to New York or Rhode Island, both being then in the possession of the British. In the course of the correspondence, Burgoyne used the expression that "the public faith pledged at Saratoga had been broken by the United States." Congress, who had previously sought, too eagerly, to find specific breaches of the Convention on the part of the prisoners, from all which the testimony of Gates acquitted them, saw in this declaration, and the proposal, plausible ground, perhaps a sufficient one, for arresting all further compliance with the Convention, until formally ratified by the British government. They argued, that any subsequent breach by the English, in re-enlisting in America, contrary to their agreement, could be justified on the plea of notice, or by the repetition of the same allegations, and they thought they found evidence that such a design was meditated in the proposed change of the place of embarkation. Burgoyne remonstrated in vain against this determination, retracted and explained his words, and offered every possible pledge to abide by the Convention, but Congress was inexorable. The troops were detained, and he finally sailed to England without them, on his individu[illegible] role. The imprudence of Burgoyne alone gave Con[illegible] plausible defence for this act, but it is certain that n[illegible]uch use could have been made of it, had not the conduct of the British generals in America given too much reason for the distrust and resentment manifested on the occasion.

The army of Washington had not received reinforcements from the North till the latter part of October. The works on the Delaware, guarding the passage, occupied the attention of both armies. Admiral Howe having succeeded in removing the obstructions at Billing's Port, after the

evacuation of the fort by the Americans, a joint attack by sea and land was planned against Forts Mercer and Mifflin. Fort Mifflin was commanded by Colonel Samuel Smith of Maryland, and Fort Mercer by Colonel Greene. The Augusta, a sixty-four gun ship, and the Merlin, a frigate, with several smaller vessels, moved up to assault Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, while Colonel Donop, with 1200 Germans, crossed into New Jersey, to attack Fort Mercer. The land assault was impetuous. Colonel Greene's force was about 500, not enough to man the outworks fully. They were in consequence slightly defended, and the entire strength of the garrison was reserved for the defence of the inner entrenchments. Colonel Donop, meeting with little opposition, poured in his Germans with great confidence and bravery, but was met with such a deadly, uninterrupted fire, that he fell, mortally wounded; his second in command shared the same fate, and the third was compelled, notwithstanding the bravery of his men, to draw them off and retreat, with prodigious loss. Four hundred of them were killed or wounded, while the garrison lost about thirty only.

Oct. 22d.

Fort Mifflin in the mean time sustained an incessant bombardment from the shipping. The gallant garrison maintained their post under a shower of bombs and cannon balls, until the ebb of the tide left the Augusta and the Merlin aground, where they were burnt.

These brilliant actions only saved the forts for a while. The fort on Mud Island became the immediate point of the future operations of the enemy, and its defence is one of the most distinguished feats of determined courage exhibited during the war. From the latter part of September, up to the date of the general attack, the numbers under the command of Colonel Smith had not amounted to three hundred. Reinforced then, he had about four hundred, with whom he defended the fort against daily assaults by land and water, until the 11th of November. By that time the enemy had succeeded in getting possession of such positions on the heights of Province Island above, as made the fort entirely untenable. Colonel Smith was wounded in a bombardment of his post from that quarter, and forced to withdraw, and on the 15th, the garrison retired to Fort Mercer, on Red Bank, and the English occupied the deserted post. A strong division was sent, under the command of Cornwallis, against Red Bank, on the approach of which the garrison evac-

uated it, and Cornwallis took possession and demolished its defences.

The capture of the forts left the American vessels defenceless, and the crews accordingly abandoned and burnt them. The impediments to navigation sunk in the river were next removed in part, by the British, and with difficulty, and the passage was opened for transports and provisions from the fleet, to reach the army in Philadelphia.

The troops of Washington, reinforced by divisions from the victorious army of the North, now amounted to about twelve thousand regulars, and three thousand militia. With these he was encamped at White Marsh, whence numerous attempts were made by Howe to draw him out, for the purpose of giving battle, but in vain. He could not be induced to risk his army in a general battle, except on his own position, and Howe, foiled in his manœuvres, returned to Philadelphia to winter-quarters.

Washington, as soon as he became satisfied that the British had desisted from offensive operations, also went into winter-quarters at *Valley Forge*, about sixteen miles from the city.

Thus terminated the second campaign of Great Britain against her revolted colonies. Two powerful armies, commanded by experienced generals, and abundantly provided with every thing, had succeeded in nothing but capturing the cities of Philadelphia and New York, and ravaging the property of many private individuals throughout the country. One army had been lost totally, and the other, though master of the capital of the country, was in effect straitened within very narrow limits, and exercised no power over the people. The country was not only unsubdued, but unterrified, and more sanguine of their ability to maintain their Independence, and warmed with sterner and more unanimous determinations to yield nothing to the invader. Besides their own higher hopes and confidence in themselves, supported by the issue of the two years' battles, they had a near prospect of foreign assistance to sustain their claims.

The sufferings of the memorable winter at Valley Forge, sufferings which tried the constancy and exhibited in a noble light the heroic patience and patriotism of the soldiery of the Revolution, form the next subject in the order of time in the military history of the war.

Before following up that narrative, it is necessary to recur to some of the political matters that had engaged the attention of Congress, and to the contemporaneous movements in Europe, connected with American affairs.

CHAPTER XI.

A FRUITFUL source of embarrassment to American affairs in every department, military and civil, was the want of a stable government. Not only were the armies of 1776 and 1777 raised, clothed, and directed; the political and foreign relations of the country managed, and vast sums of money raised and expended and prodigious debts incurred, without any regular form of government or binding authority from the separate States, but without any definite system among their acting representatives in Congress. The delegates from the several States, by virtue of the general powers and instructions of each, exercised at discretion all the functions of legitimate government. The only sanction to this exercise was the implied assent of their separate constituencies, each of which was a distinct sovereignty. The States had not defined the powers which they designed to delegate, nor had Congress established a system of powers for themselves. All action grew out of the necessities of each occasion, and the acquiescence of the people was presumed to what was considered necessary. The evil of such unlimited discretion was enormous. It weakened all confidence in public engagements, while it gave constant occasion for jealousies and suspicion among the people of the States, no less than among their representatives. These evils were foreseen at a very early day by the leading patriots, and plans were suggested for removing them by the adoption of a joint system of government. Union was urged as indispensable to strengthen and sustain Independence, and secure unanimity in the support of that measure. Dr. Franklin proposed a plan of Confederation in the summer of 1775, but Congress were not then ready for so decided a movement of resistance. In the succeeding year, when the ties of connexion with Great Britain were about to be broken, the project of

a union of the States was revived contemporaneously with the determination to assert the independence of the States. But one day intervened between the adoption of the resolution on Independence in Committee, and the selection of a special committee to prepare a form of Confederation. Their names have already been quoted. Their report was made on the 12th of July. Delays and difficulties occurred, as well from differences of opinion and dissensions among the States, as from the pressure of immediate danger from the common enemy. The plan was resumed in April 1777, and, after long discussion and repeated postponements, was finally adopted by Congress, on the 15th of November, in that year.

John Hancock having resigned a few weeks before, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, was then President of Congress.

The "Articles of Confederation" established a union between the thirteen States, under the style of the "United States of America." It was resolved to be a "firm league of friendship" among them, "for their defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon, them, or any of them, on account of religion, *sovereignty*, trade, or any other pretence whatever." Each State was to retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right not expressly delegated to the United States. Delegates were to be appointed by each State, not less than two or more than seven in number; each State to maintain its delegates; and to recall them at pleasure. In the determining of questions, the vote to be taken by States. No State was to enter into any treaty, agreement, or alliance, with a foreign nation, nor with any other State, or States, without the consent of Congress.

The States were prohibited from laying imposts or duties, to interfere with any treaty stipulations of the United States, in pursuance of propositions made to the courts of France and Spain. No vessels of war were to be kept up by them in time of peace, except such as Congress might deem necessary for the defence of the State, or its trade; nor keep up forces, except to garrison their forts: nor engage in war, except in case of actual invasion, or such imminent danger as not to admit of delay till the assembling of Congress. Every State was required to keep up a well-regulated and

disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, with a proper quantity of military stores, ammunition, artillery, &c. All the officers of land forces raised by the States, under the rank of colonel, were to be filled by the States.

All the charges of war, and other expenses incurred for the common defence and general welfare, were to be defrayed out of a common treasury, supplied by the States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land, and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States might direct; the proportion of the taxes of each State to be levied by the duration and authority of the State legislatures, within the time agreed upon by Congress.

The specially delegated and exclusive powers of Congress were: to determine on peace and war, except in case of invasion, or imminent danger of invasion; to send and receive ambassadors; make treaties and alliances,—with the exception that no commercial treaty should be made restraining the States from imposing such duties on foreigners as their own people are subject to, or from prohibiting exportation or importation. Congress were to decide on captures by sea and land; prescribe the rules for distributing prizes; grant letters of marque and reprisal; and establish courts for the adjudication of prizes, and the trial of crimes and felonies committed on the high seas. Congress was made the final judge between the States, in all cases of disputed boundaries, "or any other cause whatever;" and the mode of decision was minutely prescribed, with the proviso, that no State should be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

Congress were to have the sole right to regulate the alloy and value of the coin struck by their own authority, or that of the States; to fix a general standard of weights and measures; regulate trade and manage affairs with the Indians, not members of the States, "provided the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated;" establish and regulate post-offices; and appoint all officers of the land forces, except regimental officers, and all naval officers.

Congress were further authorized to appoint a committee to sit in the recess, to be denominated "*A Committee of the States*," consisting of one delegate from each State; to ap-

point other committees and necessary civil officers for managing the general affairs of the United States, under their direction; to appoint a President of Congress, provided no person was allowed to serve more than one year in any time of three years; to ascertain the sums of money necessary to be raised for the service of the United States, and appropriate the same; to borrow money and emit bills on the credit of the United States, rendering an account half yearly to every State; to build and equip a navy; agree on the number of land forces, and make requisitions for them upon the State legislatures, the United States to bear the expense of raising, equipping, arming, and clothing them.

The United States were expressly restrained from engaging in war; granting letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace; entering into treaties and alliances, coining money or regulating its value, ascertaining or fixing the sums necessary for the use of the United States, emitting bills, borrowing money or appropriating it, agreeing on the number of land or sea forces, or appointing a commander-in-chief, unless *nine* States should assent to the same. All other questions, except that of adjournment from day to day, required the votes of a majority of States.

The "*Committee of the States,*" or any nine of them, might, in the recess of Congress, execute such powers as Congress, with the consent of nine States, should invest them with; provided no power be delegated which, in Congress, required the assent of nine States.

It was further provided, that all bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the new Confederation, should be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for which the public faith was hereby solemnly pledged.

Every State stipulated to abide by the determination of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by the Confederation are submitted to them; the articles of the Confederation to be inviolably observed by every state, and the union to be perpetual; no alteration at any time thereafter to be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every State.

Canada, according to the Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, might be permitted into

the Union, but no other colony to be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

This plan being finally agreed to in Congress, was transmitted to the State legislatures, with a circular letter, entreating their early consideration of it, as a "Confederacy for securing the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States." "It will," says the letter, "confound our foreign enemies, defeat the flagitious practices of the disaffected, strengthen and confirm our friends, support our public credit, restore the value of our money, enable us to maintain our fleets and armies, and add weight and respect to our councils at home, and to our treaties abroad. In short, this salutary measure can no longer be deferred. It seems essential to our very existence as a free people; and without it we may soon be constrained to bid adieu to independence, to liberty, and safety: blessings which, from the justice of our cause and the favor of our Almighty Creator visibly manifested in our protection, we have reason to expect, if, in humble dependence on his divine Providence, we strenuously exert the means which are placed in our power."

It will be perceived that these "articles" contain little more than a form of agreement or league between States entirely distinct and independent, and that there was provided in them no means for enforcing the decision of Congress, or carrying its resolutions into effect, other than by the free action of each State in its separate capacity, acting through its legislature, representing its citizens. The Confederation vested no power in the new government to act upon the people of the States, except through requisitions upon State authorities. Adopted by Congress in November, "the articles" were not considered as binding conclusively until they had been approved of, and ratified by, the legislatures of all the states: which was not accomplished in fact until the year 1781. The delays and controversies which postponed the ratification so long, did not however prevent the States from acting, so far as the conduct of the war was concerned, under an admission that the stipulations were to be fulfilled in good faith. Their most important bearing upon the history of this era of the revolution, is in the rule of action and specifications of powers which they established for Congress. If the States did not immediately and formally sanction all the features of the plan, it, nevertheless,

was obligatory upon the body who adopted it, and derived their authority from it, and became to them a written Constitution, prescribing and limiting their functions.

Though not strictly in the order of time, it may be added here, that these articles of confederation were ratified by all the States, except New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, before June, 1778. New Jersey ratified in November of that year, after a vain effort to procure some important modifications; Delaware did not assent until the 22d of February, 1779. Maryland, who had, with Delaware, insisted on an amendment, securing the Western lands for the benefit of all the States, adhered to her resolution much longer, and carried on an intermediate controversy with Virginia on the subject. She, however, never delayed in her exertions in support of the war, and finally acceded to the Confederation in March, 1781. She protested that her consent was given because "the common enemy" was encouraged by her refusal, and because her "friend and 'illustrious ally' (France) believed her accession would greatly benefit the common cause." She declared at the same time, that "by ratifying the articles of Confederation, she did not relinquish, or intend to relinquish, her interest with the other confederated States to the Western territory."

The necessity of adopting some system of action in Congress had been forced upon them in the summer of 1777, by the confusion which prevailed throughout the public service. The want of system had not only endangered the organization of the army, upon which the defence of the country relied, but had contributed essentially to impose upon Congress the adoption of that unwise financial policy, and those harsh expedients which affected the currency so fatally. The departments of the Commissary General and the Quarter-Master General were not well organized, and what they could have effected in the procuring of supplies was obstructed by the pernicious interference of Congress in the regulation of prices. The depreciation of the bills of credit, which had been profusely emitted during the first years of the war, was alarming, and the remedies proposed were false in principle and most unjust in effect. The three millions that had been issued in 1775 had been increased, by successive emissions, until the amount reached to near a hundred millions, for which the faith of the States was pledged; but no means were provided for its redemption, or to give a prospect of

eventual security to the holders. Without commerce, with state governments but imperfectly organized, and no common government for the whole, it would have been imprudent to call for taxes, even had there been a superintending authority to prescribe and collect them; foreign trade was totally extinct, and Congress had no other resource but unlimited promises, contingent not only upon the successful issue of the war, but the subsequent formation of an efficient government, and the untried ability of the country in times of peace and independence. Depreciation of this paper was the unavoidable consequence. It was seriously felt in the beginning of 1777. To counteract it, Congress, in January, provided a law, making the bills a tender in payment in all public and private business, and declaring the refusal to receive it as such, to be the extinguishment of the debt. Whoever refused to receive it at par, in exchange for any articles of property whatever, was denounced as an enemy to his country. These wild and dangerous measures only served to accelerate the mischief by enhancing prices enormously, and Congress accordingly, proceeding in the same coercive measures, and attributing to hostile feelings, or the desire to speculate on the public distress, what was the real effect of their own measures, and the impoverished state of the country, resorted to still stronger and indefensible expedients. They procured the establishment in the States of laws regulating the price of labor, and of all exchangeable commodities. If any persons refused to sell, the purchasing commissaries were authorized to seize upon all surplus beyond a given quantity, at the prices so fixed. This arbitrary system drove every thing out of the public market. Citizens secreted their effects and intermitted their industry, and the public embarrassments increased instead of diminishing. An exhausted country was goaded by such palpable wrong, and by the unerring instincts of self-preservation, to obstruct the furnishing of what was absolutely required by the public necessities. In November, 1778, about the time of the adoption of the articles of Confederation, an effort was made to alter the system of finance, by raising the necessary sums from the States in the form of taxes. Five millions were apportioned among them, to be raised within the year; the amount to be funded until the final settlement, at an interest of six per cent. But the expedient succeeded badly. Little attention was paid to the regulation, and the old sys-

tem continued to produce public distress and embarrassment, and private suffering and injury, until the end of the war.

These depreciations of the currency aggravated the deficient arrangement and mal-administration of the army departments charged with supplying the soldiers with arms and provisions. The want of subordination and accountability was the chief evil, and produced perpetual confusion. The remonstrances of Washington were frequent and urgent, against the existing modes of transacting business, until Congress, towards the close of the year, deputed a committee to examine into the subject, at head-quarters. The result of the interview was the reorganization, early in the next year, of the departments of Commissary General and Quarter-Master General. General Greene was made Quarter-Master General, and Colonel Wadsworth Commissary General. The deputies who had before been appointed by Congress, and made accountable only to them, were put under the control of the heads of department. This reform was followed by rapid improvements in the management of those branches of the public service; but unhappily the effect was not felt until after the army had suffered the extreme privations of that terrible winter at Valley Forge.

At the same time the just complaints of the officers of the army, which had been repeatedly pressed upon Congress, received some attention. Oppressed with want, overwhelmed with debt, and unable from the degraded currency and their scanty pay, to preserve a decent exterior, or provide the common comforts of existence, they had, time after time, called for a more liberal and permanent provision. Many of them had resigned, and more threatened to do so, unless their grievances were redressed. A tardy and ungracious grant of half-pay for life was voted to them, which, by subsequent resolutions, was restricted to seven years from the end of the war. It served for a while to lessen the complaints of the officers, though it was far from affording them substantial relief or permanent satisfaction. On the last day of the year, Congress voted a gratuity of one month's *extra pay* to the officers and soldiers in the army of Washington, as a reward for the patience, fidelity, and zeal with which they had borne up under the dangers and fatigues of the campaign.

But a greater calamity than depreciated credit, discon-

tented officers, a disordered and exhausted army, and an impoverished people, threatened the American cause, at the close of the year 1777. Machinations were on foot among powerful and popular leaders in Congress and in the army, for displacing Washington from the command and elevating General Gates to that station. The brilliant result of the Northern campaign, and the glorious victory of Saratoga, were contrasted with the reverses in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, since the commencement of the war, to the disparagement of the military reputation of Washington. Anonymous and vague charges were soon followed by loud murmurs and open accusations among the partizans of the discontented; letters were freely circulated impeaching the integrity and ability of Washington; and pieces published in the newspapers, expressing dissatisfaction at his mode of conducting the war, and calling for his removal and the substitution of Gates. Some of the State legislatures joined in the movement. That of Pennsylvania addressed a remonstrance to Congress against his conduct of the campaign, when he retired into winter-quarters. Generals Mifflin and Conway, and probably Gates himself, were parties to these intrigues. Before their aim was fully discovered, they had succeeded in establishing a board of war, of which Gates and Mifflin were members, which undertook to act in opposition to the commander-in-chief. Conway obtained the appointment of Inspector-general of the army; and the opponents of Washington for a while seemed to have assumed the lead in public affairs, and superseded him in the confidence of his country. Under their direction, and contrary to his remonstrances, they projected a new expedition into Canada, of which they assigned the lead to the Marquis La Fayette. On his arrival at Albany, where he was directed to take command, he found nothing prepared for the expedition. On his complaint to Congress, he was recalled and the scheme abandoned. The development of these plans showed how widely the conspirators had mistaken public sentiment, if they had hoped to be sustained in their projected removal of Washington. The indignation became so great, even among the troops under the immediate command of Gates, that it was with difficulty appeased. The principal intriguers were forced to withdraw from public view, to save themselves from the resentment of the soldiers. Conway resigned his commission, and subsequently

fought a duel with General Cadwalader, in which he was wounded, as he believed, mortally; he wrote a penitential letter to Washington, expressing his grief for the injury he had attempted to do. "You are," said he, "in my eyes, the great and good man—may you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues." The resignation of Conway enabled Washington to fill that office with his friend, Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer of great capacity, who had served in the army of the Great Frederick.

During the progress of these intrigues, Washington was fully advised of all that was designed and attempted against him. His private letters and public communications, spoke the same magnanimous and moderate spirit, which confer more true lustre on his character than his splendid military genius. Even when Congress seemed almost ready to abandon him to the fury of his detractors, he never for a moment forgot the calm dignity of conscious rectitude, never was betrayed into a word or an act of petulance or irritability, and never relaxed the devotion of his entire faculties to the service of his country. Although deeply wounded in his feelings, he stifled his resentments, and forbore to use the means of exculpation in his own hands, lest the disclosure might injure the common cause. As the crisis showed him maintaining his serenity in the midst of trials, so his triumph in the discomfiture of his enemies was signalized by delicate forbearance and generous forgiveness of injuries. The vindication of his own character and the recognition in so unequivocal a manner of his claims to the admiration and affection of his country, touching as they must have been to his feelings, were secondary in his estimation to the great benefits of restored confidence and reunited counsels to the liberties of America.

Never were united counsels, mutual forbearance, and untiring energy more required than for the management of American affairs during that winter. None of the reforms in the army, dictated by necessity, began to relieve the embarrassments of the Commander-in-chief, or diminish materially the sufferings of the army, until some months of their encampment at Valley Forge had passed. A faithful picture of all they endured there by hunger and cold, in want of the most common necessaries of clothing, of forage, food, and tents, would display a scene not more striking for its unparalleled hardships, than for the con- 1778.

stancy and heroism with which they were sustained. Without shoes, their march to Valley Forge might have been tracked by their bloody steps on the frozen ground. Destitute of tents, they felled trees and built themselves huts, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. At times they were without food for days, and with no certain prospect of supply; depending for escape from the horrors of famine upon the chance returns of parties sent out to levy contributions by force upon the neighboring country. The scarcity of fuel, and even straw for beds, was so great, that hundreds slept on the bare earth, half clad, and without blankets, protecting themselves from freezing only by huddling together, to preserve the animal warmth of their bodies. Fevers and other diseases, the natural product of want, fatigue, and the filth generated by crowded and humid huts, were added to the other afflictions, and deepened them into horror. The hospitals were filled with patients that had sickened from want to die of neglect. The medical department was even more deficient than the other branches of the service; for the want of proper medicines, diet, and food, was aggravated by the coarse cupidity and brutal neglect of the medical attendants. The hospitals became terrors to the well, and the invalids preferred dying in the open air to perishing in an atmosphere of pestilence among the expiring and the unburied dead. Frightful indeed to the contemplation is the record of the sufferings at *Valley Forge*, and above all things glorious to the army and the cause in which they suffered, the memory of their patience, their patriotic resignation, their heroic firmness in endurance. The hundreds upon hundreds that perished unrepiningly in keeping the faith they had pledged to their country, victims to the false policy of the government, the mismanagement of their officers, and the necessities of an almost exhausted nation, are entitled even to a deeper sentiment of veneration and gratitude than their more fortunate fellows who died in the field of battle. Nothing of temporary excitement sustained them; no evanescent enthusiasm buoyed them up with sudden ardour; they struggled and died in silence, uncomplaining and unknown to fame, invigorated solely by their love of liberty and the consciousness of performing a sacred duty.

Of the seventeen thousand men who went into camp on the 19th of December, the number of effective men in

February was only about five thousand. Nearly four thousand (3989) were unfit for duty from nakedness.

General Washington, with the most indefatigable perseverance, labored to remedy these grievances and supply the most pressing wants. He exercised the powers given him by Congress in seizing forcibly upon the provisions within reach of the camp, on such terms as the law prescribed, to preserve the army from dissolution; and when that resource was exhausted, he made earnest and finally successful appeals to the New England States. Towards spring supplies were furnished with more regularity and in greater quantities, and as the season advanced, the condition of the army began to improve. The public affairs of the States began at this period to realize some of the benefits of the victory over Burgoyne, in determining the European rivals of Great Britain to take open part with the Americans in sustaining their independence. The secret aid given by the court of France, and the service of numerous distinguished Frenchmen in the American army, have already been related. The capture of Burgoyne, and the advance towards a stable form of government in the adoption of the articles of Confederation, satisfied the French king of the determination of the Americans, as well as their capacity, to resist the power of Great Britain, and of the expediency of affording them countenance and succor.

During the year the conduct of France had afforded sufficient indications to the world of her desire to engage in the war on a favorable opportunity. As the fortunes of the Americans varied, her connivance at practices favorable to them, and hostile to British commerce, was more or less open, but always unequivocally inclining to the new States When pressed by the British ministry for explanations, she evaded the demand, or complied in form, without exacting obedience to the orders which, in order to save the appearance of neutrality, she was obliged to issue. In compliance with the remonstrance of Lord Stormont, an order was obtained for all American privateers and their prizes to quit the ports of the kingdom; but expedients for delay were allowed with such success, that not one of them obeyed the order. Instructions were privately given to the revenue-officers to afford countenance and protection to French subjects trading with America. These, and other more substantial acts of favor, in gifts, loans of money and arms, were notorious to the

British government during the year, but they were not in a situation to show resentment by a declaration of war, and they held out to the public the opinion that no danger of French hostility was to be apprehended.

The American Commissioners at the French court did not cease to press, with the strongest arguments and importunities, for a formal treaty of alliance, and an open recognition of the Independence of the United States. After alternately advancing and receding with the fluctuations of the fortune of war, the events of the autumn determined the French to accede to the requests of the Commissioners, and accordingly on the 19th of December, M. Gerard signified to them, on behalf of the king, that "France would not only acknowledge, but support with all her power, the Independence of the United States, and would conclude with them a treaty of amity and commerce." He added, that no advantage would be taken of the distressed situation of the United States, but such terms would be made as if they were established in sovereignty and power. The negotiations which followed ended on the *sixth* of February, 1778, in the formal conclusion of a treaty of amity between the United States of America and His Most Christian Majesty Louis XVI.; acknowledging the Independence of the States, and regulating the commercial intercourse between them; and shortly after, of a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, to take effect as soon as war should be declared by England against France. The war was made inevitable, not only by the recognition of American Independence, but by the establishment in the new treaties of principles in respect to neutral rights and blockades, opposed to those uniformly maintained by the British government. In anticipation of hostilities, it was stipulated that the two powers should assist each other with their whole strength; and would not lay down arms without mutual consent, nor conclude peace until the Independence of the United States was acknowledged by treaty. It was agreed, that if the provinces of Great Britain on the Continent, or the Bermuda Islands, should be conquered, they should belong to the United States, and all the West India Islands to France. France guaranteed to the United States their liberty, sovereignty, and independence; and the United States guaranteed to France her present possessions in America, and such as might be obtained

by conquest during the war. A secret article reserved to Spain the right of becoming party to these "Treaties."

These treaties were signed by M. Gerard on the part of the French king, and Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, on the part of the United States. They were formally communicated to the British government by the French ambassador, the Marquis de Noailles, on the 13th of March, and arrived in the United States on the 2d of May.

Before proceeding with the narrative of events in America after this propitious turn in the affairs of the States, it will be necessary to review the opposite effects of the campaign of 1777 on Great Britain, and the consequent measures of that government.

The first successes of Burgoyne had raised the spirits of the ministerial party to the highest pitch of exultation. The conquest of America was considered as certain, and the prophecies and denunciations with which the ministerial policy had been met by the opposition, were held up to ridicule. The news of the repulse at Bennington did not materially affect their sanguine calculations, and when the Parliament opened on the 20th of November, the king's speech was composed of confident annunciations of success, and promises of moderation towards "the deluded and unhappy multitude," who were about to be subdued by his armies into a renewal of their allegiance. Addresses were moved in reply to the speech, full of panegyric, and professing unbounded confidence in the royal and ministerial wisdom. The minority still struggled, but in vain, to stay the course of violent measures, and procure the cessation of hostilities, and an amicable settlement of the disputes while their armies were victorious, and concession would be magnanimous. The Marquis of Granby and Lord John Cavendish in the House of Commons, and the Earl of Chatham in the House of Lords, spoke earnestly and ably, but vainly, in favor of peace. The warlike policy of the ministers was sustained by triumphant votes in both houses. A vehement attack was made by Lord Chatham, in the course of the debate, on the conduct of the Northern campaign, in the employment of the Indian allies. His denunciations of this barbarous practice were clothed in language of the most sublime eloquence and indignation. It was but feebly answered; the tyrant's plea of convenience, and the coward's plea of custom, being the only defences which the ministers

offered. The debate closed with an overwhelming majority against all change in the policy of government. The next day reversed the aspect of parties, and brought deep humiliation and disappointment to those who were, a few hours before, insolent with triumph and flushed with victories. The dispatches from America brought intelligence of the disasters of the Northern campaign, and the defeat and surrender of the army of Burgoyne. Lord North is reported to have shed tears of shame and mortification, and the ministerial advocates shrunk before the invectives and sarcasms of the opposition. Lord Chatham, holding up a paper to the House, told them "he had the king's speech in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart." That speech, he said, "contained a most unfaithful picture of public affairs; it had a specious outside, was full of hopes, while every thing within was full of danger." He went on to arraign the whole course of the administration, and moved for papers and orders relating to the campaign from Canada. His motions failed, but the ministry were not yet prepared to meet the adverse current with firmness, or by any settled system of policy. They limited themselves to devising measures for repairing the finances of the country, and filling up the losses in the army. Notwithstanding the universal consternation with which the intelligence of the defeats in America were received, the national spirit of the English prompted them to make liberal exertions to support public credit. Large voluntary contributions of men and money were made to the government; and after the recess of the holidays, Lord North came forward with a new and unexpected proposition for conciliation. On the 17th of February he introduced it in a speech, the tenor of which surprised a large portion of his own supporters, while it manifested to the opposition a total abandonment of the principles upon which the war had been commenced. All the pretensions to parliamentary supremacy in taxation, the appointment of officers, and the internal government of the Colonies, against which they had taken up arms, were waived, and greater actual independence offered them than the boldest among them had claimed in their Colonial condition. After confessing the disappointment of all his expectations in the various measures he had proposed for raising revenue in America, and executing the laws there, he offered his scheme of reconciliation. Had

Feb. 1778.

there been any lingering willingness among the Americans to return to a political connexion with Great Britain on any terms, those proposed by Lord North could not well have been rejected. The relation established by them between the countries would have been rather a federal union of States, under a common executive, than the dependence of Colonies on a parent State.

The *first* act was entitled "An act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation in any of the Colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America and the West Indies," and for repealing the tea act. The *second* act restored the charter of Massachusetts; and the *third*, authorized the king "to appoint Commissioners, with sufficient power to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces in North America."

By the first act it was enacted, that "the king and parliament of Great Britain would not impose any duty, tax, or assessment whatever, payable in any of his Majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America or the West Indies, except only such duties as it might be expedient to enforce for the *regulation of commerce*," the produce of such duties to be applied to the use of the colonies, as other duties levied by the Colonial legislatures. The act appointing Commissioners authorized them "to treat, consult, and agree with such body or bodies politic and corporate, or with such assembly or assemblies of men, or any person or persons whatsoever," in the Colonies, in relation to all complaints or grievances, and concerning "any aid or contribution" to be furnished by the Colonies, or any of them, to the common defence.

To carry these powers into effect, it was further enacted, that the king might authorize them to proclaim a cessation of hostilities for any time and on any terms; to suspend at discretion all acts of Parliament passed since the 10th of February, 1763; to grant pardons, and appoint governors for such Colonies as might be reconciled.

This act was to remain in force until June, 1779. Thus, after fifteen years of controversy, three years of open war, the expenditure of *fifteen millions* sterling, and the loss of a great army, the ministry conceded at once all that had been in dispute. They humbled themselves still further by stipulating that the renunciation of American Independence should

be waived until the conclusion of a satisfactory arrangement, to be ratified by Parliament; and that if the Colonies refused all contribution in any form to the public service, it should not be insisted on as a *sine qua non*. The haste of the ministers to see the effect of these measures was such, that the bills, before their final passage, were despatched to America, and placed in the hands of General Howe, for use among the Americans, before the arrival of the French treaties.

The bills were pressed forward through Parliament with eagerness, and, excepting the act relating to the Massachusetts charter, supported by all parties. The opposition, with Fox and Burke at their head, were not sparing in sarcasms on the imbecility and versatility of the minister, who had tried every expedient to carry his point; and failing in all, had changed his positions so entirely, and yet claimed the credit of firmness and consistency. Fox charged the pacific dispositions of Lord North to his knowledge that France had already acknowledged the Independence of America by treaty; a fact which he avowed to be true, though not yet publicly known. The assertions of Fox were faintly controverted by the administration, and the two important bills were passed, and received the royal sanction in the beginning of March. The king appointed as Commissioners, the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnston, with the commanders of the land and sea forces in America. These were Admiral Lord Howe, and Sir Henry Clinton, who, on the resignation and return of Sir William Howe, succeeded him in the command of the army, in the spring of 1778. Lord Carlisle, and his colleagues in England, sailed on the 21st of April for America, and arrived at Philadelphia in the beginning of June. Before they sailed the prospects of their mission were clouded by the official intelligence received of the alliance between France and America, concluded in February, of which Mr. Fox had spoken in the House of Commons. The note of the French ambassador was dated on the eleventh of March, and six days afterwards was laid
March 17. | before Parliament by the king, with a special message, announcing the event, informing them that he had recalled his minister from the French court, and declaring his determination to use the whole force and resources of his kingdom, if necessary, to repel every insult and attack. Both houses responded with spirit, roused into

new indignation by this formidable combination. The responses were not however unanimous. A strong effort was made by the Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords to put an end to the war, by withdrawing the troops from North America, contending that the immediate recognition of American Independence was to be preferred to the prosecution of the war, under such adverse circumstances The motion failed. It is chiefly memorable in history as the last public appearance of the venerable and illustrious Chatham, in the House of Peers, and for the melancholy interest which belongs to his dying effort there. Though long a prey to incurable infirmities, by which he had been confined to his own house, he resolved to attend at his place in Parliament, to oppose with his last strength, if needed, the dismemberment of the British empire, by the recognition of American Independence. Supported into the house by his friends, he listened with eager impatience to the speech of the Duke ot Richmond, and tasked his whole bodily powers for a vehement and impassioned reply. His concluding words, impressive in themselves, are more affecting as the last words of a great genius and an undoubted patriot; one who expired in giving utterance to fervent sentiments in behalf of the honor and glory of his own country. "My lords," said he, "I rejoice that the grave has not yet closed upon me—that I am still alive to lift up my voice against an acknowledgment of the *sovereignty* of America, against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture: but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I never will consent to tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions. Shall a people so lately the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before *the House of Bourbon?* It is impossible. I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not.—Any state, my lords, is better than despair. Let us at least make an effort—and, if we must fall, let us fall like men."

April 7th.

The Duke of Richmond replied with profound respect to the appeal made by Lord Chatham, and asked him to point out the means by which America could be made to renounce her Independence. When he concluded, Lord

Chatham eagerly attempted to rise, as though struggling to give utterance to some powerful emotion, but nature sank in the effort. He fell back in convulsions. The House adjourned immediately. The Earl lingered for a few weeks, and finally expired, on the 11th of May, in the seventieth year of his age.

On the failure of the motion of the Duke of Richmond, the only hope of an immediate termination of the war was in the success of the Commissioners, who were forthwith despatched to America. The manner in which the bills had been received in America before their final passage, augured ill of the disposition of Congress to listen to any terms. Governor Tryon, who had received them about the middle of April, instantly transmitted them to General Washington, and to the governors of several States. At the same time copies were industriously circulated to try their effect upon the minds of the people. Washington immediately forwarded those he had received to Congress, who were then in session, at Yorktown. He accompanied them with letters, pointing out the mischiefs to the cause of Independence, which he apprehended from them. The course adopted in that body on the occasion, is one of the most admirable incidents in the political history of the Revolution. It displays a serene dignity of deportment in the most trying circumstances, and a resolute determination which nothing could affect, to maintain to the last the sovereignty of the States. They were yet unapprized of the French alliance, and without ground for anticipating any speedy aid from that quarter. No despatches had been received from their envoys for more than a year, and at home their distresses were still unmitigated. They had little except hope to encourage them, and here was a prospect of obtaining by the concession of their Independence, all they had desired as Colonies, and more than they had ever asked. But without wavering, they rejected the proposal, and with a frankness which showed their confidence in the virtue and energy of the people, ordered the documents to be published and spread before the world, accompanied by the report of a committee, consisting of Messrs. Morris, Drayton,
April 22d. | and Dana. After animadverting with severity on the bills, the report stigmatizes them as "the sequel of that insidious plan, which, from the days of the Stamp Act down to the present time, hath involved the country in contention and bloodshed." They distrusted the faith of the

British government, and maintained, "as in other cases so in this,"—"although circumstances may force them to recede from their unjustifiable claims," there could be no doubt but they would, "as heretofore, upon the first favorable opportunity, again display that lust of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain." The Committee reported and Congress declared, that the United States could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any Commissioners on the part of Great Britain; unless they should, as a preliminary, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the Independence of the States.

In about two weeks after this peremptory rejection of the British proposition, the French treaties negotiated in February, arrived in America, and were ratified on the *fourth* of May, with joyful and grateful feelings. Congratulations and exultations resounded throughout America. Great and immediate results were anticipated from the cooperation of the French fleets and armies, and Independence was considered to be established beyond danger. Congress issued on the occasion a circular address, drawn up by Mr. Chase, of Maryland, to the people of the United States, and directed it to be read from the pulpit by the ministers of all denominations, congratulating them that "the God of battles, in whom was their trust, had conducted them through the paths of danger and distress to the threshold of security." It called upon them to persevere with strenuous, unremitted exertions, with the confidence that by the favour of Heaven, "the peace and the happiness of these sovereign, free, and independent States, founded on the virtue of their citizens, shall increase, extend and endure, until the Almighty shall blot out all the empires of the earth." May.

Soon after, Congress received M. Gerard, the French Ambassador, with great public ceremony and distinction. The American Envoys had been received with like public honors by the French court, in March, and in the course of another month, Dr. Franklin was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to France.

It was under such unpropitious circumstances that the British Commissioners undertook to negotiate with Congress, on the basis of Lord North's conciliatory propositions. They were charged with the task of obtaining from the

Americans, strengthened by French alliance, terms which had been peremptorily rejected when they were alone and unaided. In these altered relations a very difficult task was before the Commissioners, and they accordingly manifested an eager desire to extend the powers of their commission, and concede as largely as possible to all the claims of the Americans short of an acknowledgment of their Independence. Immediately on their arrival, they applied to Washington for a passport to their secretary, Dr. Ferguson, to be permitted to make communications personally to Congress. This was refused. They then forwarded letters, by the ordinary post, covering their commissions, the acts of Lord North, and a series of propositions for conciliation. These were of the most comprehensive description, offering to proclaim a cessation of hostilities by sea and land; to agree to a freedom of trade to any extent required by the joint interests of the two countries; to renounce the right of keeping military forces without the consent of the Congress or particular assemblies; to establish a union, by a reciprocal right of representation; to provide means for raising the credit of American paper, and paying their debts; in short, to use the words of the Commissioners, "to establish the power of the respective legislatures for each particular State to settle its own revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government; so that the British States throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends."

June 4th.

These offers came too late. A war of three years duration had totally extinguished the affection which prevailed with such unanimity, at the commencement of the quarrel. Nothing but an unconditional acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the States would be listened to; and so the President of Congress was instructed to reply. Some insinuations against the good faith of the French in their interference in the quarrel, which the Commissioners had introduced into their letter, excited so much indignation among some of the members, that a motion was made to suspend the reading of the papers, and refuse to notice them further. That motion was finally postponed, and a Committee, consisting of R. H.

Lee, Samuel Adams, W. H. Drayton, Governeur Morris, and Mr. Witherspoon, reported an answer, to be transmitted by President Laurens. It treated their assumption, that "the people of the States are still subjects of Great Britain," as "wholly inadmissible," but informed the Commissioners that they were willing to negotiate a treaty of peace and commerce, whenever the king of Great Britain should manifest a sincere disposition for that purpose. It adds: "The only solid proof of that disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the Independence of the States, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies."

To this firm annunciation the Commissioners made a reply, insisting that they had conceded a degree of independence sufficient to justify Congress in treating with them. They went on to question Congress as to the extent of its own powers, and how these were derived from the States. Of this no other notice was taken by Congress except to declare, that as neither branch of their proposition, the acknowledgment of Independence nor the withdrawal of the British forces, had been assented to, the negotiation was closed.

Foiled in their open efforts, the Commissioners, or one of them at least, endeavoured to compass the same ends by private influence, and the use of liberal promises to individuals supposed to have influence in the American councils. Governor Johnston, whose personal acquaintance with Americans was large, made himself notorious in these intrigues and attempts at bribery. He wrote private letters to Mr. Laurens, to Robert Morris, Mr. Dana, and Mr. Reed, in all of which intimations were given of the great gain which would accrue, by the favor of the British government, to those who should be instrumental in reconciling the two countries. To General Reed a direct offer was made through a lady, a mutual friend, that for his influence he might have 10,000*l.*, and the best office in the Colonies in the gift of the Crown. "I am not worth purchasing," was the prompt reply of the incorruptible patriot, "but such as I am, the king of England is not rich enough to do it."

These letters and offers being laid before Congress, were considered by them as attempts to bribe their members, and pronounced to be such an indignity as to prevent them from holding any intercourse with Governor Johnston. Their declaration produced an angry rejoinder from him, and dis-

claimers of all participation in his plans from the other Commissioners.

Finding Congress inflexible, the Commissioners addressed themselves to the people directly, by publishing a manifesto and proclamation. They denounced the obstinacy of Congress, and the ambitious designs of France, in unmeasured terms, and, losing the tone of conciliation, threatened the extremities of war against the allies of France, the natural enemy of Britain. It was declared, that if the British Colonies were to become the dependencies of France, self-preservation would dictate that they should be made of "as little avail as possible." These papers they circulated under cover of flags of truce.

Congress met these inflammatory attempts by declaring, that whoever might circulate them should forfeit the protection of the flag; and then, boldly relying on the integrity of the people, published them themselves. They issued a counter manifesto, repelling with indignation the threats of devastation, and declaring, "if our enemies persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as will deter others from a like conduct."—"We appeal," they said, "to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions; and in his holy presence declare, that as we are not moved by any light or hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so, through every possible change of fortune, will adhere to this our determination."

In the Commissioners' proclamation, dated in October, forty days had been limited for the granting of pardons to such as should return to their allegiance. After the expiration of the term, without any applications for favor, they returned to England, leaving the conflict to be determined by the fortune of war.

The military events of the year were by no means commensurate in importance with these civil and political occurrences, nor did they answer the expectations of either party. The sanguine calculations of the Americans, on the decisive co-operation of the French, ended in disappointment; while, on the other hand, the British, with all their increased exertions, made no progress in reconquering their revolted Colonies. Both sides were slow in taking the field. The American forces remained in their encampment at Valley Forge; and the British, first under General Howe,

and subsequently under Sir Henry Clinton, occupied Philadelphia. No other enterprises were undertaken than some successful predatory excursions into the neighborhood, for the purpose of obtaining supplies, or the less defensible object of destroying property. Four store houses, with a large amount of goods, were burnt at Bordentown, and on the same occasion, they destroyed a large number of American vessels, including two frigates, nine ships, six privateer sloops, twenty-three brigs, besides sloops and schooners. Great ravages were also committed in Rhode Island, by the British forces there. They burnt the church and seven dwelling houses in Warren; the church, and about twenty houses in Bristol, and destroyed a great number of vessels and stores.

The regular operations of the field were not opened, by the main army on either side, until summer.

CHAPTER XII.

THE campaign of 1778, arranged at Paris between the French and American Commissioners, had for its object the blockade of the forces of General Howe in Philadelphia Washington, with a recruited army, commanding the passes of New Jersey, was expected to hold the land forces in check, while a powerful French fleet, despatched before the British could reinforce or succor Admiral Howe, should blockade him effectually in the Delaware. The British fleet consisted of six sixty-four-gun ships, three of fifty, two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. Count D'Estaing, with a French fleet, comprising twelve ships of the line, one carrying ninety guns, one eighty, and six seventy-fours, with three frigates, sailed from Toulon, on the 18th of April, and arrived off the Delaware in the beginning of July. He was too late by a few days for the success of the meditated blow. The British ministry had already anticipated such a scheme, and directed a concentration of the whole force in America, at the city and harbour of New York. The Commissioners for conciliation carried out the order to the brothers Howe, to evacuate Philadelphia, and remove the fleet from the Delaware. Admiral Howe had left the Capes of the Delaware, and arrived safely within Sandy Hook, only about a week before Count D'Estaing, who had been detained by contrary winds, reached the coast. A reinforcement of twelve ships of the line was ordered to join the British fleet at New York, under the command of Admiral Byron, appointed to take the place of Admiral Howe, who had asked leave to return.

The army also executed the same orders, but not without obstruction. It was for some time uncertain whether Sir Henry Clinton would retreat through New Jersey, or embark on board of the fleet with his army. The difficulty of embarkation, and the danger of meeting with the French fleet, determined him to take the land route, and accordingly on the eighteenth of June, he put his whole army in motion, evacuated Philadelphia, and commenced his retreat to New York. His force was rather over

June 18th.

ten thousand men. The quantity of baggage and provisions, which he carried with him, was enormous. The line of march is stated to have extended over ten miles, and its advance was very slow. In seven days they marched only forty miles.

Washington, whose numbers exceeded those of Clinton, had narrowly watched his movements. He detached General Maxwell's brigade, to take post at Mount Holly, and co-operate with the Jersey militia, in harassing and retarding the march of Clinton. On the day Clinton abandoned the city, Washington put his own army in motion, and followed cautiously, keeping on the high lands, and thus retaining the power to engage the enemy or not at pleasure. The Commander-in-chief was anxious to try a general engagement, but of the council of war, consisting of seventeen generals, only two, Wayne and Cadwalader, concurred in the opinion fully. Morgan and Cadwalader were despatched to harass the enemy in flank and rear.

On halting at Princeton, the American general learned that Clinton had turned off from the direct road to New York, across the Raritan, and had taken a lower route by Monmouth, to Sandy Hook. He again summoned a council of war, who decided a second time against risking a battle. Notwithstanding this decision, the movements of Clinton on the next day determined Washington not to permit him to reach the secure heights of Middleton without a battle.

On the 27th he threw forward a body of troops, under the command of La Fayette, to attack the rear of the British, while he should advance with the main body. Clinton sent forward his baggage, under a sufficient escort, and with the bulk of his army remained to check the attack of La Fayette. Lee, with two brigades, was despatched to reinforce La Fayette, and, being the senior officer, took the command. Clinton encamped that night in a strong position, at Monmouth Court House. Lee rested at Englishtown, seven miles distant. On the next morning, as soon as the British army was in motion, Lee was ordered to attack their rear, "unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary." He was advised that the main body would march up in time to support him. He made his dispositions accordingly, and advanced slowly towards Monmouth, when he ascertained that the British were marching to

June 28th.

meet him. Clinton had sent forward his baggage, and ordered Cornwallis to meet the meditated attack. The movements of the Americans induced the enemy to think that their design was to intercept the baggage, and Cornwallis was directed to charge them, which he did with a superior force. The corps of La Fayette, which was on the advance, was driven back, and Lee, uncertain of the extent of the force brought against him, and thinking the ground unfavorable, repassed a morass which was in his rear, with a view of gaining a more favorable position. Part of his troops, under General Scott, mistook the order, and continued to retreat, and Lee was compelled to follow, the enemy pursuing him briskly. Washington, who was pushing forward rapidly to support him, unapprised of these movements, met the advance in this disorder, and, both surprised and vexed, addressed General Lee with warmth, disapproving of the retreat in sharp terms. He formed the troops in order, restoring the command to Lee, who, notwithstanding the altercation, consented to act, and returned to the main body. Lee sustained the attack of Cornwallis with bravery and resolution, and, when forced off the ground, retreated in good order, and formed again at Englishtown. Washington, having gained time by this check to the British advance, renewed the attack, and a general battle ensued, which lasted till night, in one of the hottest days of summer. Darkness put an end to the combat, without advantage to either party. The Americans rested on their arms, intending to resume the battle on the morning, but Clinton, at midnight, silently decamped with his whole force, and by morning was beyond pursuit.

Washington desisted from any attempts to interrupt them, and marched his army leisurely to cover the passes of the Hudson. Clinton reached Sandy Hook on the 5th of July, and embarked immediately for New York.

In the battle of Monmouth the British loss was about three hundred, found upon the field. The Americans lost eight officers and sixty-one privates, killed; and one hundred and sixty, wounded. Many of both armies died without a wound, from excessive heat and fatigue. The Americans made about one hundred prisoners, and it is estimated that a thousand privates, chiefly Germans, deserted from the enemy during the march through New Jersey.

Washington, though in the excitement of the occasion he

had used strong language to General Lee, on the day of action, disapproving of his retreat, had nevertheless continued him in command, and showed no disposition to proceed further. But Lee was too deeply irritated to submit quietly to the reprimand, and on the next day addressed two haughty and offensive letters to the Commander-in-chief. The issue of the correspondence was the arrest of Lee, and his trial by court-martial upon three charges: 1. For disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeably to repeated instructions. 2. For misbehaviour before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat. 3. For disrespect to the Commander-in-chief in two letters.

The high colouring of the second charge was made on the representations of Generals Wayne and Scott, but on the trial it was shown that they had misapprehended him. Lord Sterling presided at the court-martial. They found Lee guilty of all the charges, but softened down the language of the second, and found him only guilty of making an unnecessary and in some instances a disorderly retreat. They sentenced him to be suspended from command for one year. Congress finally approved the sentence. It is impossible to deny, on a review of the case of Lee, at this day, that he was harshly dealt with by the court, and that it is difficult to find just cause for their judgment. The excitement against him in the army, and the inconvenience to the service, which might have been produced by his unpopularity, probably swayed their minds, and deprived the country of the services of an able and gallant, if a rash and irritable, officer.

Soon after Sir Henry Clinton reached New York, the French fleet appeared off the harbor. Disappointed in the escape of Admiral Howe with the British fleet from the Delaware, Count D'Estaing had followed them along the coast, and, on the 11th of July, made a display before Sandy Hook, as though about to force his way into the bay of New York, to attack the fleet. He found it impracticable to work his large ships over the bar, and in consequence remained before the port, blockading the British fleet, till the 22d of July. A great number of English vessels fell into his hands. On the 22d he sailed with his whole fleet for Newport, Rhode Island, to co-operate with a land expedition sent against the British at that place. Again the British had a fortunate escape in his movements. The

July 22d.

fleet of Byron, sent out to reinforce Howe, met with storms and adverse winds, and had been separated. Within eight days after D'Estaing's departure, five or six of this squadron arrived in a damaged condition, separately, at Sandy Hook, and must have fallen into his power had he remained on that station. He arrived off Newport on the 29th of July.

Rhode Island had been in the possession of the British since 1776, and it was now planned by the American general to make a concerted attack by sea and land, with the hope of capturing the whole army in garrison there. The British general was Sir Robert Pigot, and the force under his command, by reinforcements from New York, had been augmented to six thousand.

The American land forces were put under the command of General Sullivan, and amounted to ten thousand men. Generals Greene and La Fayette subsequently joined him, and the army took post at Tiverton, relying upon the co-operation of D'Estaing in the capture of Newport. The ninth of August was fixed for the action, and Sullivan made the necessary dispositions of his force.

Aug. 9th.

On the day previous, signals were made that the British fleet from New York, reinforced by a part of Byron's squadron, had arrived off the harbor. The position of the French fleet was unassailable, and they might have persevered, with little prospect of failure, in the attack upon the town. The admiral, however, eager to engage the enemy by sea, abandoned the harbor on the eleventh, and stood out with his whole force in search of Howe. The two fleets manœuvred for two days, in order to get the advantage in position, and on the 15th met and drew up in order of battle. At the moment they were about to engage, a severe storm separated them. The gale continued to increase in violence for two days; the ships of both sides were dispersed, some of them damaged and disabled, and forced to put back into port to refit—the British to New York, and the French to Newport, where they arrived on the 20th. Sullivan, in the mean time, had crossed over to the island, and made his approaches towards Newport, relying on the assistance of D'Estaing. He had already made considerable progress in the siege, when he was disappointed, and all his views frustrated, by the determination of the French admiral to abandon the enterprise and repair to Boston to repair

damages. Notwithstanding the remonstrance of the American officers, this design was carried immediately into effect, and on the 22d, the whole French fleet departed, leaving the harbor open to the British. Exposed to an attack from New York, and deserted by his allies in the most critical moment, Sullivan soon found it impossible to continue the siege. His militia, disheartened at the change of prospect, left him in large numbers, and after delaying about a week, he wa compelled to order a retreat. This was effected with skill The Americans succeeded in getting some hours start of the enemy, and had reached a strong position on the north part of the island, when they were attacked by a pursuing party, and a sharp engagement ensued, in which the Americans succeeded in repulsing the enemy. The American loss was 211, and the British 260. Aware of the near approach of Sir Henry Clinton with a strong reinforcement, Sullivan saw the necessity of retreating with rapidity, which he effected on the 30th, with a skill and prudence which have been much applauded. On the next day, Clinton, with four thousand men, arrived at Newport from New York, but Sullivan was beyond pursuit.

Aug. 22d.

Aug. 28th.

Sept. 1st.

Howe, after refitting his fleet in New York, sailed to intercept D'Estaing on his way to Boston, but failed. He accordingly returned to New York, where his fleet was further strengthened by the arrival of several more ships belonging to Admiral Byron's squadron. He resigned the command, ad interim, to Admiral Gambier, and returned to England. On the sixteenth, Admiral Byron arrived, and assumed the command.

The French fleet was received at Boston with great coolness by the Americans. The irritations that had already been produced between the French and American officers at Newport, were renewed and aggravated. Among the populace the disappointment caused by the failures of the French in the Delaware, at New York, and at Rhode Island, broke out into insult, and ended, in some instances, in outrage. Much was done by General Washington and La Fayette to soothe their angry feelings and restore equanimity and confidence, and their efforts were partially successful. The manly and forbearing conduct of Count D'Estaing, aided materially in restoring harmony. He addressed some spirited letters to Congress, and offered to march his

troops by land to the aid of Sullivan. The faults complained of in the management of the fleet are attributed less to any want of zeal and capacity in Count D'Estaing, than to his inexperience, and his dependence on the judgment of his officers, who sometimes overruled his own opinion.

The remaining operations of the year, on both sides, can be summed up briefly. Admiral Byron, having got his whole force in order, sailed for Boston to watch the motions of the French, but encountering another violent storm, was driven off the coast, and his ships sustained so much damage as to be forced to take shelter in Rhode Island. Count D'Estaing embraced the opportunity, and sailed for the West Indies, on the 3d of November. On the same day, Admiral Hotham, with part of the English fleet, sailed in the same direction from Sandy Hook, and was followed in December by the whole British fleet. The scene of the conflict between the fleets of the two European parties to the war, was thus transferred to the South, and at the same time the contest on land took the same direction.

A few days after the departure of the French fleet, General Gates arrived at Boston, and took command of the Northern army.

Active operations in the North closed with the retreat of Sullivan from Rhode Island. In the Middle States no important movement was made after the battle of Monmouth. A few detached enterprises on both sides were undertaken, some of which require notice.

On the return of Clinton to New York, in the beginning of September, he despatched General Grey to Buzzard's Bay, in New England, to destroy the American privateers that resorted there. He accomplished that object, burning about seventy sail of shipping, with magazines, warehouses, ropewalks, and the wharves on both sides of the river at Bedford and Fairhaven. Thence he proceeded to Martha's Vineyard, and captured and carried off a large quantity of live stock.

A stronger expedition was next organized against Egg Harbor, on the Jersey coast. This was a general resort for American privateers and their prizes. Lord Cornwallis and General Kniphausen took up a position in New Jersey and on the Hudson, to interpose between the camp of Washington in the Highlands and the coast, while their frigates and some light vessels, with a British regiment, sailed directly

for the harbor. The Americans, apprized of the expedition, had sent most of their vessels to sea, and removed others up the river. The British, disappointed in their principal object, marched in pursuit, burnt several vessels, chiefly British prizes, and proceeded to destroy and ravage all the property within their reach. On their return they surprised the light-infantry belonging to Pulaski's corps, in their sleep, and killed about fifty of them, including some distinguished officers. Another savage massacre was committed on another American regiment, by a part of Cornwallis's division, on the same service. They were a party of light-dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Baylor, who had taken up their lodgings in a barn, near Tappaun, on the Hudson. The outpost of the militia, having abandoned their ground without giving information to Colonel Baylor, a British detachment, under General Grey, was enabled to advance silently and surprise the patrol, whom they cut off, without alarming the Americans. They then rushed in upon the sleeping dragoons, and without mercy, or regard for repeated cries for quarter, bayonetted more than half of them upon the spot. Sixty-seven out of one hundred and four were killed or wounded, and those who were spared saved their lives by the humanity of one of the captains, in disobedience of the commands of his superior. The massacre was the topic of general indignation, and depositions establishing the facts, collected by Governor Livingston of New Jersey, were spread before the world as proofs of the barbarous practices of the British.

Bloody and cruel as were these slaughters, and justly a stain on the character of the English general, they fall into insignificance compared with the atrocities committed in the same year by the Indians and tories in the British service. The massacre at Wyoming was marked with an accumulation of horrors that make the blood freeze in recalling them. This settlement consisted of eight townships forty miles square, on the Susquehanna river, cultivated by emigrants from Connecticut, who had made it one of the most beautiful and flourishing places in America. A rich and fertile garden embosomed in the forest, with a peaceful and industrious people, in a secluded part of the country, it might have been hoped that devastation would not reach so far, and that war, if not party discord, would spare so delightful and romantic a scene. On the declaration of Independence

the mass of the inhabitants united with their countrymen in supporting that measure, and furnished a thousand men to the American army. The loyalists and tories, however, were numerous, and no where did they exhibit a more ferocious spirit. Several of them having been arrested for trial, their party formed a secret league with the Indians, commanded by a tory refugee, named John Butler, and a half-blood, named Brandt, to obtain vengeance on the devoted settlement. Deceitful professions and artful manœuvres were practised to lull the victims into security, until all was prepared, and in the month of July, a force of about seventeen hundred Indians and tories invaded the unsuspecting community. Four forts constituted its defences, and about 500 men were all the force that had remained. The rest were with the American army. Two of the forts fell into their hands, one by the treachery of the tories, and the other by storm. Here they spared the women and children, but butchered the male prisoners without exception. The third fort, called Kingston, was next surrounded. Here the old men, the sick, the children, and the females, all who were incapable of bearing arms, were collected. A great part of the defenders, four hundred in number, with unaccountable credulity, were lured out of the fort to parley with the enemy, and betrayed into an ambush, where all but sixty were massacred on the spot by the Indians, or tortured to death as prisoners. The feeble remnants of the garrison were appalled on the return of the exulting savages, by having two hundred reeking scalps of their murdered kinsmen thrown among them. To the flag of truce, begging for terms of surrender, the besiegers gave but one inhuman word in reply, *the hatchet!* When they were forced at last to give up at discretion, the barbarians enclosed men, women, and children in the barracks, and setting fire to them, mocked at the agonies of their victims, expiring in the flames. The last fort offered no resistance, and shared the same fate. The whole settlement was then ravaged and desolated by fire and sword by the furious victors, sparing neither house nor field, nor brute beast, that belonged to a republican. The enormities they perpetrated, chiefly under the guidance with fire and encouragement of renegade Americans, exceed the imagination and defy description. A blacker record of human depravity, a more revolting picture of human suffering, is not to be found in the annals of

civilized nations. The wars of the most savage and ignorant tribes never presented more cold-blooded and remorseless barbarity, than the massacre of Wyoming stamped upon the conduct of the tories of the Revolution.

A retaliatory expedition was undertaken in October, by Colonel William Butler, of Schoharie, New York, into the district occupied by these Indians and the tories. They ravaged the country on both sides of the Susquehanna, and between that river and the Delaware, and punished severely such of the barbarians and renegade whites as fell into their power. The tory Butler, in revenge, invaded Cherry Valley, in the month of November, and re-enacted the barbarities of Wyoming.

These excursions for plunder and devastation were the only military events requiring notice, which took place in the Middle States during the remainder of the year 1778. Washington withdrew his forces to a commanding station at White Plains, and early in the season led them to winter-quarters, at Middlebrook in New Jersey. Sir Henry Clinton was in safe quarters in the city of New York. It is not a little remarkable, that the relative position of the two armies did not vary much from that at the close of 1776. The fact is noted by Washington, in one of his letters, in the following impressive terms: "It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two years manœuvring, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and the offending party in the beginning is now reduced to the use of the pickaxe and the spade for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude to acknowledge his obligations." The British general, knowing his superiority of force, and availing himself of his command of the coast by means of the fleet, towards the close of the year despatched an expedition to Georgia. The South was made the theatre of a winter campaign. On the 27th of November, Colonel Campbell, with two thousand men, including the New York tory companies, convoyed by ships of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker, sailed from New York for Savannah, and at the same time orders were dispatched to General Prevost, who was at the head of the British forces in East Florida, to advance into Georgia to co-operate with

Campbell, and take the command of the joint expedition. The squadron was detained about three weeks at sea, and finally entered the Tybee river late in the ensuing month.

Dec. 29th. On the 29th of December, the troops effected a landing, about twelve miles up the river Savannah, and three miles below the city.

The American force for the defence of the place was under the command of General Robert Howe, and consisted of about six hundred continentals, and a few hundred militia. His numbers were much reduced by an unsuccessful expedition into Florida, from which he had just returned. The position which he chose for the repulse of the British, was naturally strong, and could have been defended but for the accidental discovery of a path which led through a morass to the American rear. By this, which was unknown to the Americans, a detachment of British infantry, with the New York volunteers, gained, unobserved, the rear of General Howe's little army, and by a simultaneous attack broke them up instantly, and drove them into and through the city of Savannah, with the loss of all their artillery, one hundred killed, and four hundred and fifty prisoners. The defeated and scattered troops made the best of their way into South Carolina, and the capital of Georgia was quietly occupied by the enemy. General Prevost, following his instructions, marched his troops from East Florida, and after many days of difficult and painful travelling through the wilderness, entered the State of Georgia, captured the fort of Sunbury, and marched into Savannah to take the command. The whole State submitted without further effort, and the royal government was in a short time established completely. Colonel Campbell acted with much policy, forbearance and dignity, and did more for the British interest, during the time in which he held command, than any British officer who served in America during the war. Georgia is the only State in the Union in which, after the declaration of Independence, the legislature was peaceably convened under the authority of the Crown of Great Britain.

Congress appointed Lincoln to the command of the Southern department, and on the 4th of December he arrived at Charleston. There were no troops ready for him, and it was not till the beginning of January that he was able, with the remnant of Howe's force, to muster 1,400 men, with which he established himself at Purrysburgh, on the Savannah

river, about fifteen miles from General Prevost. He had neither field pieces, arms, tents, nor ammunition. Towards the end of that month, the North Carolina militia, under General Ashe, increased his numbers to about 3,000.

At the close of the year 1778, the British had made no progress in subduing America. They had ravaged and laid waste a wide extent of territory, inflicting much distress upon individuals, but beyond the possession of New York, Newport, and Savannah, they had no foothold in the country. The subjugation of the State of Georgia, mentioned above, in order not to break unnecessarily the current of the narrative, was not made until the beginning of 1779. After three years of warfare, Great Britain was no stronger than at first, and had expended thousands of lives and millions of money, and brought upon herself open war with one of the most potent nations in Europe, and the ill-concealed hostility of another. A long, bloody, and expensive struggle was yet before her, with but faint prospect of recovering her revolted Colonies.

These considerations, on the other hand, afforded substantial reasons for hope and confidence to the Americans. But the issue of the campaign was a grievous disappointment to the sanguine hopes to which its commencement had given rise, and the internal condition in which it left them was real cause for gloom and alarm. The alliance with France had been hailed with exultation as decisive of the success of Independence, and from the strong force which it brought to the succor of the States great results had been predicted. The first unhappy effect of these calculations was an abatement of the zeal for action on their own behalf, which had marked their unassisted exertions, and an over confident reliance upon the arms of the French. A feeling, if not of reluctance, of indifference to the public service, was indulged in by the mass of those from whom the armies were to be recruited, and by whom the means of restoring the finances and consolidating the institutions of the country were to be furnished. The immediate pressure being as they thought removed, their minds turned more to the repairing of their own means than to a vigorous and united effort for expelling the British fleets and armies. This languor continued to affect the operations of the States for the whole of the next year, and produced deplorable consequences. These delusive expectations were only suspended, not destroyed, by the unfortunate issue of the several French expeditions

undertaken during the year. Irritation was felt and strongly expressed against the manner in which the French fleet had been employed, its inefficiency before Sandy Hook and at Newport, and its departure from the coast to prosecute the French interests in the West Indies. Such severe disappointments, together with the abatement of the popular ardor produced serious alarms in the minds of the leading patriots, and required their most energetic efforts to counteract the injurious consequences. The consequences were carried into all the relations of civil government, and all the political concerns of the country, no less than into the condition and efficiency of the army. The currency continued to depreciate without the possibility of a remedy. The finances of Congress were in a state of confusion and embarrassment that threatened an early dissolution of that body, for the want of the means to keep them together; their credit was totally exhausted, and party spirit, state jealousies, and personal rivalries distracted their councils. In all the moral characteristics of the contest, in union, self-reliance, and energy, the cause of Independence had rather retrograded than been advanced by the French alliance.

It was about this epoch that, stimulated by the French minister and admiral, a project was meditated for the conquest of Canada. The object was very desirable to the French, and was urged earnestly upon Congress. They were inclined to the expedition, and without communicating fully with Washington, they had conceived a general plan for the conquest of all the British posts, by the simultaneous attacks of the different American detachments on the Northern frontier, aided by a French fleet and army, operating in the St. Lawrence. The extravagance of the plan was zealously exposed by Washington, and with final success, although it was reluctantly given up. He showed it to be impossible to provide the proper force, and dangerous to the safety of the States, from which their defence must be withdrawn in order to gather even a respectable army in the North. Privately he urged political considerations of weight, dissuading Congress from engaging all their available strength in an expedition which promised so little comparative benefit to themselves, but which was of such great prospective value to France. The expedition was laid aside on the report of a committee of Congress, based upon the views of the Commander-in-chief.

Late in the autumn of 1778, General Lafayette obtained leave to return to France, on a visit, principally with the design of procuring by his personal influence additional aid from the French court to the United States.

Mr. Laurens resigned the Presidency of Congress, and was succeeded by John Jay.

In England Parliament met on the 26th of November. The king's speech, without speaking directly of the American affairs, complained in strong language of the conduct of France as an "unprovoked aggression." The popular hostility towards the French nation appeared to give a new spirit to the war, and ministers were more warmly supported in their line of policy. The opposition confined themselves to attacks upon the manner of conducting the late campaigns, and the tardy and inefficient preparations that had been made. The conduct of Commissioner Johnstone was arraigned severely. The employment of Indians in the British army was strongly reprobated, and motions made for a public censure upon the threatening manifesto with which the Commissioners had closed their labors in America. Mr. Johnstone defended the proclamation, owned and justified it as avowing a war of desolation to be right and expedient against such a refractory and rebellious people. Ministers defended it on other grounds, rejecting the extreme interpretation of Johnstone, and the vote of censure was refused. The conduct of ministers was brought under review by an inquiry instituted at the request of General Howe, who, in his place in Parliament, accused the secretary of maladministration in relation to America. Lord Cornwallis, General Grey, and other officers, were examined at the bar. Burgoyne, who had been in vain demanding an inquiry into his own conduct, took the opportunity of renewing it, and that was also granted. Numerous witnesses were examined on his behalf, and most of the session consumed in the investigation. The Committee came to no decision in either case, but the testimony clearly convicted the ministry of great ignorance of the geography and condition of America, as well as of the military means proper for prosecuting the war. The session was protracted to late in the summer of 1779. Before they adjourned, another enemy had been joined to the confederacy against Great Britain, by the manifesto of the king of Spain,

1779.

which was considered a declaration of war, and as such communicated by message on the 17th of June.

In the French treaties with the United States a secret article had reserved to the king of Spain, a right to become a party. That monarch had interests of his own on the American continent, which made him reluctant to aid the Americans, however much he might desire to cripple the power of England. As a security for his own possessions, and as a remuneration for his co-operation, he required a preliminary relinquishment by the United States of all claims to the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains, and the recognition of his exclusive right to the navigation of the Mississippi. He was displeased with the French treaties for not making stipulations of this kind, and declined becoming a party to them. He however offered his mediation between France and Great Britain, with the understanding that the United States were to be included in the terms agreed upon. The mediation was listened to undoubtedly with a view to procrastination by Great Britain, to prevent the junction of Spain with France in the war against her. A correspondence was instituted, which was kept up for eight months, and was finally concluded by the offer of an *ultimatum* by the Spanish court, in which was included a stipulation that the American provinces should be treated with as "*independent in fact.*" The court of London rejected the proposition on the 4th of May, 1779. This result was expected by the court of Spain. In anticipation of the refusal, they had, in April preceding, formed a secret treaty with France, engaging to declare war. A manifesto to that effect, setting forth various causes of complaint against England, was delivered to the British secretary by the Spanish ambassador, on the 16th of June, and responded to immediately by the king and parliament. A new militia bill was introduced; increased supplies voted, with little opposition; and the army and navy largely augmented. Seventy thousand seamen were voted for the home service, and about thirty thousand soldiers in addition to those already in America, computed to amount, foreigners included, to forty thousand more. The sums of money voted for the services of the year amounted to 15,072,654*l.*

The British court, during the pendency of the negotiations which added Spain to the number of her open enemies, was not inactive in endeavoring to detach the Americans from

their new alliances by separate proposals, offering liberal terms of reconciliation. In the winter of 1778–79, David Hartley, an eminent whig member of Parliament, went to Paris, with the privity of Lord North, to confer with Dr. Franklin. The great point to which his labors were directed, was to obtain the consent of America to treat separately for peace. His own preliminary propositions made to Dr. Franklin, in April, contained a *postulatum*, that America should be "released, free, and unengaged from any treaties with foreign powers, which may tend to embarrass or defeat the proposed negotiation." The "great stumbling-block in the way of reconciliation," as Hartley expressly told Franklin, was the connexion with France. If, as was probably designed, the British ministry expected any admission which might be employed to create distrust in the court of France against the good faith of America, the sequel deceived them. France had more than once shown an apprehension that the States might consider themselves at liberty to make a separate peace. On the 1st of January they made such a representation to Congress through their ambassador, as to draw forth a solemn declaration, unanimously adopted, that "as neither France nor the United States might of right, so these United States will not conclude either truce or peace with the common enemy without the formal consent of their ally first obtained." Dr. Franklin wisely and firmly adhered to the same line of policy, in his reply to Hartley "America," he said, "has no desire of being free from her engagements to France. The chief is, that of continuing the war in conjunction with her, and not making a separate peace; and this is an obligation not in the power of America to dissolve, being an obligation of gratitude and justice towards a nation which is engaged in a war on her account and for her protection, and would be for ever binding, whether such an article existed or not in the treaty; and though it did not exist, an honest American would cut his right hand off sooner than sign an agreement with England contrary to the spirit of it." Of course the negotiation proceeded no further.

The time employed in these official negotiations relative to the Spanish mediation, was further employed in discussions between the French court and Congress, in which some of the secret motives of France and Spain, in aiding America, were developed. In the debates of Congress,

springing out of the important questions of interest and territory presented to them, are to be seen the first strongly marked party divisions respecting the navigation of the Mississippi and the Eastern fisheries, which afterwards produced so much discord and jealousy. These points attracted the early attention of France and Spain, and there is little question that, besides their general hostility to Great Britain, those powers had their own separate views of gain. France was especially eager for a participation, if not an exclusive right, in the Newfoundland fisheries, to be conquered from Britain and secured by the gratitude of the States. Her views upon Canada have been already alluded to. She was also anxious to further the plans of the other branch of the Bourbon family upon Florida and the Mississippi. Spain looked upon the possession of the Floridas, and the control of the navigation of the Mississippi, as her prize in the war against Britain. The French court entered into the alliance with the new States without having obtained any stipulation for these concessions. The time was critical, and her assent was given with the design of urging the same claims as an ally, generous and able to help them in their adversity, and entitled to liberal concessions of territory and privileges. The mediation offered by Spain, and the negotiations for her co-operation in the war, afforded an occasion for pressing these views, and making as profitable a bargain as possible with the Americans. The announcement by M. Gerard of the offered mediation, was accompanied by some suggestions to Congress of the necessity of moderation in the terms, upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, in case the mediation should be successful. He intimated the propriety of not insisting upon a formal and explicit acknowledgment of Independence; advising them to be content with a tacit recognition. He laid much stress upon the value of Spanish aid, enlarged upon the extent of the concessions which ought to be made to secure it, and finally recommended terms of peace to be offered embracing these several points, limiting the territory of the United States east of the Alleghany, abandoning the fisheries, and adopting such an implied sovereignty as the Swiss Cantons enjoy. Congress were willing to grant much for the value of the expected alliance, but they were too sagacious not to see, that Spain would not be governed in her course by any regard for American liberty, or sympathy for republicanism,

out by political calculations and the hereditary hostility of the Bourbons against England. In settling the conditions to be insisted upon, under the proposed mediation, and to secure the Spanish alliance, warm and long continued debates took place, in which the States were differently swayed, according to their geographical position. The East were zealous for never yielding the fisheries, and the West insisted, as a *sine qua non*, on the navigation of the Mississippi These discussions were protracted until the mediation was finally rejected by the court of Great Britain; but the same arguments continued to be pressed upon Congress by M. Gerard, to induce them to offer to His Catholic Majesty "proper terms" to "reconcile him perfectly to the American interests." These "proper terms," were the same previously advocated. It should not be forgotten, in reciting these intrigues, that when the French minister was, in July, recommending the United States to make large concessions to induce Spain to go to war with England, a treaty was actually in existence between France and Spain, concluded in the preceding April, for making the war, independent of any American interests. Congress became strengthened in the belief that Spain would, at all events, for her own quarrels, join with France, and still held off, declining to accede to the French proposals. In a short time the war actually broke out in Europe and America. The object of all these intrigues was, however, not abandoned. Spain, by joining in the war, did not accede to the treaties between the United States and France. The same arguments were used to persuade Congress to pay highly for a treaty with Spain directly, of alliance, amity, and commerce. The utmost concession which Congress would make, was to offer the Floridas with a guarantee—the fisheries and the Mississippi they would not yield. Spain resented this obstinacy, and, though engaged in the war against the common enemy did not acknowledge the Independence of the United States, nor receive nor send ambassadors.

To prevail upon her to do so, and to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce, *John Jay*, at the time of his election President of Congress, was appointed a minister to Spain. At the same time John Adams was chosen minister for the same object, to negotiate a like treaty with Great Britain. The increase of the hostile combination against Great Britain, led to the impression that the war would soon end. Samuel

Huntingdon, of Connecticut, succeeded Mr. Jay as President of Congress.

M. Gerard returned to France, and in the month of November, the Chevalier de la Luzerne was received by Congress as the French Minister Plenipotentiary.

Immediately after the Spanish declaration of war, the joint fleets of France and Spain, under the command of Count D'Orvilliers, consisting of sixty-five ships of the line, and numerous frigates, entered the British channel, and spread consternation along the coasts. They retired, however, without undertaking any enterprise of moment.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE military operations during the year 1779, were carried on in three separate quarters. The fleets of France and England contended for superiority in the West Indies;—Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, employed the troops under his command in harassing the country, to prevent Washington from detaching any aid to the South; and General Prevost, in Georgia, prosecuted the duty assigned to him of reducing Georgia and South Carolina. 1779.

The course of events in the West Indies does not bear materially upon the affairs of the American Revolution. It was a struggle by France chiefly for her own benefit, and served to retard that direct co-operation with the republican forces which had been expected from her. It had one great advantage of occupying a large part of the British fleet at a distance from the coast of the States. The French force in the West India Islands, in December, 1778, was under the command of the Marquis of Bouillê. By a sudden attack, he made himself master of Dominica. The British fleet was commanded by Admiral Barrington. It was reinforced by Commodore Hotham, with a division, having a land force of 5,000 men on board, under the command of General Grant, with which an attack was made upon St. Lucie. D'Estaing arrived with the French fleet from Boston to strengthen Bouillê. He made an attempt to relieve St. Lucie, which failed, and that island surrendered to the British. Admiral Byron, with the rest of the squadron, soon arrived, giving the British a preponderance of force, with which they kept D'Estaing blocked for several months at Fort Royal. Both sides received further reinforcements; the English by a squadron under Commodore Rowley, and the French by one under the Count de Grasse.

In the month of June, Admiral Byron having sailed to convoy a fleet of merchant ships, the French commenced offensive measures, and captured St. Vincents and Grenada, which, with Dominica, also in the power of the French, left the British only *Tobago* of all their acquisitions in the

West Indies by the treaty of 1763. An indecisive action between the fleets of the two nations, in the month of July, terminated the operations of D'Estaing in that quarter. The season of hurricanes was approaching, and the remonstrances and applications which he received from the United States, induced him to sail northwardly again; and on the 1st of September, he appeared on the coast of Georgia with twenty ships of the line. His subsequent operations there are connected with the Southern campaign in the States, to be hereafter narrated.

In the North the war on both sides had been carried on languidly. The dissensions in Congress, the spirit of speculation which pervaded all classes, in consequence of the depreciation of paper and the indisposition to make any efforts or sacrifices for the common cause, and the delusive reliance upon the arms of France for securing Independence, produced such an apathy in making the necessary preparations for action in the field, that, notwithstanding the earnest, repeated entreaties of the Commander-in-chief, no recruits were voted until late in January, and the requisitions upon the States for their several quotas, were not made until March. When the army was about to take the field, alarming difficulties sprung up among the officers, running into acts of violence, which threatened the total dissolution of the army. The depreciation of the continental money had become so great, that the pay of the officers would not afford them even the necessaries of life, and in May, the officers of the Jersey brigade formally threatened to throw up their commissions, unless better provision were made for their support. It required all the patient sagacity, firmness, and personal popularity of Washington to prevent this catastrophe, and prevail upon the dissatisfied officers to delay their resolutions, and bear still longer with the hardships and injustice of which they complained with so much reason. They marched according to orders. The representations of Washington brought the subject strongly before the State legislature, and measures of relief were proposed, which had the effect of keeping them in the service. The

May, 1779. disposable American force at this time was about sixteen thousand men, that of Sir Henry Clinton was nearly seventeen thousand. By means of the naval force under his control, he could transport them with little obstruction to any part of the coast, and make incursions at

pleasure in any direction without being effectually opposed. The station at West Point, and the passes of the Highlands, in which the American stores were deposited, were of such primary importance that Washington dared not risk their safety by detaching any considerable part of his army for the defence of other places. His only enterprise of the kind distant from the Highlands, was one under General Sullivan, sent against the Indians on the Northern frontier, which succeeded in destroying a number of their towns. Clinton availed himself of his superiority, and spent the season in committing ravages upon the coast and sending out expeditions to distress and plunder the country, as though it was his object to accomplish the threats of the Commissioners to make the Colonies worth as little as possible to their new allies. The first, under Commodore Sir George Collier and General Matthews, was directed to the Chesapeake. It reached Hampton Roads on the 10th of May. Having taken possession of Norfolk, they sent parties in various directions, and destroyed public and private property to an enormous amount, at Portsmouth, Norfolk, Suffolk, Gosport, and the neighboring towns and villages. One hundred and thirty vessels, and a prodigious quantity of naval stores and provisions were destroyed, and three thousand hogsheads of tobacco burnt in Elizabethtown. Private houses were not spared, and in Suffolk hardly a dwelling escaped the flames. In about two weeks the marauders re-embarked and returned to New York. May 10th.

A second expedition was planned against the American fortresses in the Highlands of the Hudson. General Clinton, convoyed by Collier, embarked on this service, in the latter part of May, with a large force. King's Ferry is the great highway between the Eastern and Southern States. The possession of it by the British would compel the Americans to make a wide and difficult circuit, and would be an important step towards the conquest of West Point. Stoney Point overlooks and commands the ferry on the west side, and Verplank's Point on the east. Both were fortified. The former was evacuated on the approach of Clinton, but his movements were so rapid that the garrison on Verplank's Point were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, after a short and spirited resistance. After fortifying and garrisoning these forts, Sir Henry returned to the city. June 1st.

The British commerce on Long Island Sound was sorely harassed by numerous privateers, fitted out in the convenient harbors and bays of Connecticut. The supplies intended for the New York market were intercepted and captured. These enterprises were made the ostensible motive for a predatory expedition upon the coasts of Connecticut, which was carried on with a spirit of barbarity and rapine disgraceful to the arms of any civilized people. Governor Tryon and General Garth, with 2,600 men, were employed in this service.

July 5th. Garth landed at New Haven on the 5th of July. This town was plundered, and an immense amount of property destroyed. After perpetrating every species of violence and enormity, except firing the town, in which they were frustrated by their apprehensions of a body of militia collected to oppose them, they suddenly re-embarked. Tryon enacted the same horrible scenes at East Haven, which he burnt, and being pursued by the exasperated militia, retreated to his ships.

July 7th. Two days afterwards, he landed at Fairfield, a flourishing town, in the county of the same name, on the coast, between fifty and sixty miles from New York. Here, after plundering every house, and destroying all the property within the town he ended by burning the town, and laying waste every thing he could reach for two miles round. Again embarking, pursued by the militia, he relanded at Norwalk, about ten miles below, where he burned and plundered the town, and destroyed a quantity of shipping, including whaleboats and cruisers. He was proceeding thus from place to place, desolating the coast, when he was recalled by Clinton. Particular accounts were furnished Congress of the devastations committed at Norwalk and Fairfield. Besides the vessels destroyed, there were burnt at the former place two houses of public worship, eighty dwelling houses, sixty-seven barns, twenty-two stores, seventeen shops, and four mills: at Fairfield, two houses of public worship, eighty-two dwelling houses, fifty-five barns, and thirty stores. So far was Governor Tryon from feeling compunction at these barbarities, that he boasted of his clemency, and maintained that the existence of a single house on the coast was a monument of the king's mercy.

The recall of Tryon was hastened by a bold and successful movement made in the Highlands by the Americans against Stoney Point. It had been impossible for Washington to divide his army for the succor of the defenceless

coast invaded by the British. The safety of West Point required all his energy and activity. He pushed forward his lines nearly to the British, and determined by a brilliant enterprise to alarm the enemy and force him to recall his troops. Stoney Point and Verplank's Point had been strongly fortified and manned by the British. General Wayne, with a strong detachment of American infantry, set out on an expedition against Stoney Point on the 15th of July. At the same time, a force under General Howe proceeded against Verplank's Point. Wayne arrived before Stoney Point in the evening, and after reconnoitering the works, divided his men into two columns, with directions to assault the fort at opposite points, and without firing, to depend entirely upon the bayonet. The charge was made with irresistible ardor. The assailants forced their way across a morass, overflowed by the tide, in the face of a tremendous fire of musketry and grapeshot, until both columns met in the middle of the fort. Wayne received a severe wound in the head in leading on his column. The victors took 543 prisoners, fifteen pieces of cannon, flags, arms, and a large amount of military stores. The Americans lost ninety-eight, killed and wounded. The enterprise against the opposite point failed. Clinton, hearing of the fall of the fortress, moved up the river with a large force, and Washington, unable to spare a sufficient garrison for the post, removed the artillery and stores, and having demolished the works, evacuated them. Congress passed high encomiums on the gallantry of Wayne and his troops in storming the fort, and voted him a gold medal in honor of the victory.

Clinton ordered the works to be repaired, and having garrisoned them strongly, returned to New York again.

About the same time, Major Lee, with a party of Virginia and Maryland troops, surprised the British garrison at Powles Hook, opposite New York, and with the loss only of six or seven of his own men, succeeded in capturing one hundred and sixty-one of the enemy.

These advantages were counterbalanced in part by the failure of an attack made by the State of Massachusetts against the British post at Penobscot, in Maine. A fort had been erected there, in June, by Colonel M'Leane, under the direction of Sir Henry Clinton, and garrisoned with 650 men. The people of Massachusetts, alarmed at this movement, prepared an expedition of land and naval force, under C

Salstonstall and General Lovel. Thirty-seven vessels, of different sizes, appeared before the fort, on the 25th of July, and proceeded to make preparations for assault. On the 28th, a British squadron from New York, commanded by Commodore Collier, consisting of a sixty-four-gun ship and five frigates, arrived to the relief of the garrison. The American flotilla was attacked and dispersed, seventeen or eighteen of the armed vessels taken or destroyed. Most of the sailors and soldiers who escaped, made their way back by land, through the woods.

July 28th.

No other military events worth narrating occurred in the Northern or Middle States during the remainder of the year. The scene of active operations was in the South, to the events in which quarter of the Union, commencing with the year, the narrative must recur.

Early in January the British General Prevost was in possession of the capital of Georgia, and the whole State offered him no resistance. His next object was to form a connexion with the interior, where great numbers were represented to be royalists favorable to the British interest, and to invade South Carolina, and capture the city of Charleston. An expedition which he planned against Port Royal, was repulsed by the Carolinians, under Moultrie, the same who distinguished himself by the defence of the fort in Charleston harbor, against the fleet of Admiral Parker, in 1776. Lincoln, with the American troops, occupied numerous posts along the north bank of the Savannah river.

Jan. 1779.

Colonel Campbell, in order to support and succor the royalists, moved up the river, and occupied Augusta. From that place he despatched parties to aid the king's friends, as the tories styled themselves. A large number of this class rose in arms, and putting themselves under the command of Colonel Boyd, marched to join the British, committing great devastations and cruelties on their way. This roused the resentment of their countrymen, and a party of Carolinian militia, commanded by Colonel Pickens, collected and attacked them, just before they reached the British posts. The tories were totally routed, and many prisoners taken. Seventy-six of them were condemned to death as traitors, under the State law, but five only were executed. The British forces soon after evacuated Augusta, and retreated down the river to Hudson's Ferry. Lincoln

Feb. 14th.

had stationed General Ashe, with 1,500 Carolina militia and a few regulars, opposite to Augusta, on the Carolina side of the river, and on the retreat of Campbell from Augusta, directed Ashe to cross the river, follow the enemy, and take post at Briar's Creek. He did so, but kept such careless watch as to allow himself to be surprised and totally routed by an inferior force. Colonel Perkins marched against him, and having succeeded in deceiving Lincoln as to his designs, by a circuitous march reached the rear of Ashe's position, and killed, captured, or dispersed his whole force. The regulars, under General Elbert, made a gallant but fruitless resistance, but the militia were panic-struck, and fled without attempting to make a stand. Not more than four hundred of these returned to the camp of Lincoln. The loss in arms and ammunition was also great. The disaster cost the American army one-fourth of their strength at once, and reduced them to inaction. The subjugation of Georgia was complete, and General Prevost was left uninterrupted in his plans for re-establishing the British authority, and collecting the means for invading Charleston.

The continued successes of the British since their landing in Georgia, and the entire subjugation of that State, alarmed and roused the people of South Carolina. Active exertions were made to prepare the means of defence. John Rutledge, a distinguished patriot, was chosen governor by almost a unanimous vote, and invested with extraordinary powers, which he used promptly and vigorously. The militia were called out with such success, that by the middle of April General Lincoln found himself at the head of 5,000 men. The British having withdrawn from the upper posts on the south side of the river Savannah, Lincoln left General Moultrie with a part of the army to preserve the lines of defence, and marching up the north side of the river, crossed at Augusta into Georgia. April 23d.

Prevost, who was in large force in Savannah, availed himself of this division of the American forces, and, while Lincoln was distant a hundred and fifty miles, crossed the river, near the mouth, into Carolina, and moved against Moultrie. The Americans, unable to maintain their position, retired; and were followed by the enemy. A skirmish took place at Coosawatchie bridge, in which Colonel Laurens was wounded, his troops suffered considerably, and were finally repulsed. Moultrie conducted his retreat with ability, but

under disadvantages from the want of cavalry and the numerous desertions which occurred among his troops. Anxious for the fate of their private property, instead of rallying for the public cause, they went off home, in alarm and consternation. Prevost delayed several days on his march, receiving encouragement from the tories, and assurances of the defenceless state of Charleston. Following the retreating Americans in this dilatory manner, he appeared before Charleston on the 11th of May.

May 11th.

Lincoln, in the interim, continued his route down the south side of the river, towards Savannah, believing Prevost's march to be a feint to divert him from that city. He contented himself with despatching three hundred continentals to Charleston, who, by a rapid march of fifty miles a day for four days, reached that place as soon as Moultrie, and before the British crossed the Ashley river. A further reinforcement of five hundred men was sent by Governor Rutledge, and the Pulaski legion was soon after added. Lincoln himself, as soon as he was convinced that the British intended seriously to attack Charleston, turned to the left, recrossed the river, and marched to the relief of the city.

On the morning of the 12th, Prevost summoned the garrison to surrender. Their numbers were about 3,300, and their chief hope was to hold out until the arrival of Lincoln. To gain time therefore was essential, and the whole of that day and the next was consumed in the exchange of flags and negotiating for terms. The garrison offered to consent to a neutrality, leaving the question of the Independence of South Carolina to be determined by final treaty between Great Britain and the United States, an offer which was refused by General Prevost. The garrison expected an immediate assault, instead of which, on the 14th, the British abandoned their design, recrossed the Ashley river, and encamped on the islands near the sea, to avoid being intercepted by Lincoln, who was rapidly approaching. The same day Lincoln reached Dorchester. The two armies remained in their encampments, watching each other's movements, until the middle of June. On the 20th, a sharp action was fought at Stono Ferry. This pass had been fortified, defended with artillery, and garrisoned by a force of six hundred men, under Colonel Maitland.

May 14th.

Lincoln arranged a plan of attack, which failed in part by the mismanagement of one of the divisions and the neglect of orders in another. The attacking force was about 1,200, which was beaten off, after an obstinate battle, with the loss of about three hundred killed. After this action, Prevost retired to Savannah, leaving Colonel Maitland, with part of the army, at Beaufort, on the Island of Port Royal. Lincoln and the continental forces retired to Sheldon, in the vicinity of Beaufort. The intense heat of the season prevented any further active operations by either army for several months, and in the interval earnest applications were made to *D'Estaing* in the West Indies to join his forces with the American for the recovery of the ground lost in the South.

This incursion of the British into Carolina was marked by more than customary wantonness of desolation; plantations and private dwellings were ravaged and burnt, with no other object than mischief and revenge. An immense amount of property was plundered and carried away, and not less than three thousand slaves were lost to the planters. A great proportion of these outrages were committed by the tories or American loyalists.

The arrival of the French fleet with 6,000 troops, on the 1st of September, renewed the war, under propitious circumstances. The Americans were sanguine of immediate success. The first events encouraged those anticipations. A British fifty gun ship, three frigates, and several transports, laden with provisions, were captured. Savannah was the immediate object of the joint armaments, and the land and sea forces were directed to concentrate at that point, to capture the army of Prevost. Lincoln broke up his camp and marched down to the south bank of the river, and crossed on the 9th. The militia were called out, and obeyed with unusual alacrity. D'Estaing landed three thousand of his men at Beaulieu, on the 13th, and three days afterwards the united army appeared before the city. D'Estaing had arrived by sea before the land troops, and summoned the city to surrender. Prevost endeavored successfully to procure delay by protracting negotiations. A truce was inconsiderately granted, at the termination of which he announced his determination to defend himself to the last extremity. The interval had been industriously employed in strengthening his defences. On the first intelligence of the arrival of the French, he

Sept. 1st.

Sept. 16th.

had recalled his detachments, and ordered all the British troops in Georgia to concentrate in Savannah. During the time allowed for the truce, Colonel Maitland brought safely into the city the division of veteran corps that had been stationed under his charge at Beaufort. The combined forces then undertook a regular siege of the city, the preparations for which occupied several days. The garrison, on their side, laboured constantly to strengthen their works. On the 4th of October the fire of the besiegers was opened, from batteries mounting nearly a hundred pieces, and kept up for five days, without producing any sensible effects upon the works of the city. During the bombardment the houses of the city suffered much, and Prevost applied to the American and French generals, for permission to remove the women and children to a safe place on the river, to abide the event of the siege. This was refused, on the alleged ground that the British intended by the proposal only a finesse to withdraw the booty they had gained in Carolina. The besiegers insisted upon the necessity of immediate surrender. The refusal is only defensible as an act of mistaken policy,—as a breach of courtesy and humanity it cannot be sustained.

The unexpected delay placed the Count D'Estaing in an embarrassing predicament. His officers represented the season as unfavorable for the continuance of so valuable a fleet on the coast, and he had good reason to apprehend an attack from the British fleets, which had had time to unite, was superior to his own, and would have the advantage of position. Precious time had been lost, and he became convinced of the necessity of immediately deciding the siege by a general assault, or by raising it altogether. The alternative was proposed to Lincoln, who preferred making the assault, which was accordingly attempted on the 9th of October by the combined forces. The attacking columns were led by D'Estaing and Lincoln in person against the right of the enemy. They were to be sustained by a division under Count Dillon, which lost the way, and failed to co-operate in the attack. The defence was conducted with gallantry, and the battle was nearly an hour obstinate and bloody. The American army was at last driven off with considerable loss. The French killed and wounded was 637, the continentals, about 240. D'Estaing was wounded slightly and Count Pulaski mortally. The British loss was not over 170.

Great credit was given to General Prevost, Colonel Maitland, and the engineer, Major Moncrief, for their gallant and successful defence of Savannah.

The repulse from Savannah was immediately followed by the separation of the French and American forces, and the abandonment of the enterprise. Lincoln retreated into South Carolina, and D'Estaing re-embarked his troops and sailed for the West Indies. The fleet had the misfortune to meet with a storm, which dispersed them Part of them, with the Count D'Estaing himself, soon afte arrived in Europe. Oct. 18th.

With this retreat ended the Southern campaign of 1779. The results were unfavorable to the American cause. The failure before Savannah, and the departure of their French allies, without having afforded any decisive aid to the States, produced great disappointment and mortification. The enemy, however, had been forced to confine himself to the coast, and the upper parts of the State were less subject to his control than at the commencement of the campaign.

Sir Henry Clinton, apprehending an attack from the French on his position in New York, recalled the troops that had been so long inactive in Rhode Island. The evacuation was made with such precipitation, that a quantity of munitions of war, artillery, &c. were left to the Americans. By keeping the British flag flying, the republicans succeeded in decoying several vessels belonging to the enemy into the port, and captured them. Oct. 27th.

The naval enterprises of the Americans, though not on a scale of magnitude, were numerous and successful, in making prizes of British merchantmen, and harassing the commerce of Britain, even on her own coasts. Paul Jones, an adventurous sailor, in a privateer under the orders of Congress, swept the Irish Channel, made several landings, and spread alarm among the inhabitants along the Scotch and Irish coasts. In September he appeared with a small fleet, fitted out from French ports, before the town of Leith. He was prevented from burning the shipping in that place, as had been his purpose, by adverse winds, until the defences were made too strong. Sailing thence, he fell in with a British force, when a most daring, obstinate, and bloody naval combat ensued. Jones's ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, of 40 guns, engaged the British ship Serapis, Captain Pearson, of 44 guns, and a hot firing commenced at half past

seven, and continued for an hour, within musket shot. The ships then becoming entangled, Jones ordered them to be lashed together, in which situation, with the muzzles of the guns touching each other's sides, the fight was maintained with incredible fury for two hours. The carnage was horrible, yet neither thought of yielding; the Serapis was on fire not fewer than ten times, and on one occasion both frigates were on fire at once, raking each other at the same time with terrible effect. The quarter-deck of the Serapis was left without a man by the blowing up of a hand-grenade, which communicated itself to a quantity of cartridges. One of Jones's squadron approached to aid him, and continued for a while to fire broadsides, which injured, indiscriminately, friends and foes. At half past ten, the Serapis struck her colors, and was taken possession of by Jones. His own ship was so shattered that the crew were compelled to leave her and take refuge on board the Serapis. Shortly afterwards she went down. The Pallas, another of Jones's squadron, had engaged and captured the Countess of Scarborough. Paul Jones, with his prizes, arrived safely in Holland. The British ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, presented a memorial to the States General, demanding the surrender of Jones as a pirate. This was refused by them on the ground that they desired not to interfere with the question of American Independence, but they could not refuse the shelter of their ports to vessels arriving in distress, as was the case with the squadron of Jones. The answer was highly displeasing to the British court, and stimulated their enmity against the Dutch.

In the West and Southwest of the States, the British arms were unfortunate in 1779. Colonel Clarke of Virginia, early in the season, with a small force, penetrated the wilderness across the Western frontier, into the heart of the Indian country, and captured the British post on the Wabash. He thus disconcerted an expedition which had been planned against Virginia, and broke up the alliance between the British and several tribes of Indians. Spain, in the mean time, carried on a war on her own account, captured West Florida, and expelled the British entirely from the Mississippi. On the other hand, they lost *Omoa*, in which the British found plunder to the amount of 640,000 pounds sterling.

A French squadron, under M. de Lauzun, captured the

British posts and factories on the Senegal and Gambia, and their other settlements on the coast of Africa.

Against such a formidable combination of enemies, in all quarters, the British nation made prodigious exertions, and displayed astonishing resources. Her fleets were manned and supplied at a vast expense; the spirit of her people furnished means to an unexpected magnitude, and bore up against depressions and increased difficulties with a courage that demands high admiration. Ministers, though the public confidence in their system of policy had declined, gathered temporary strength from the public necessities, and commanded that support as the head of a nation assailed by powerful and inveterate enemies, which would not have been given to the line of policy by which they had produced so much of the mischief. On the opening of Parliament, in November, the result of every effort made by the minority, opposed to the war and the administration, indicated the growth of this disinclination to the wars, and distrust of the capacity of the ministers, and at the same time showed the resolution to supply abundantly, even lavishly, all the means for upholding the naval and military forces in every quarter. To the customary addresses in reply to the king's speech, Lord John Cavendish in the House of Commons, and the Marquis of Rockingham in the House of Lords, moved amendments, proposing no new line of policy, but censuring ministers, and asking for their removal from office. Both were lost by large majorities. This was followed up throughout the country by associations and petitions against the war; and the feeling growing stronger, a simultaneous movement was made in behalf of economical reform, in such a manner as to alarm the government and king, and nearly succeeded by the powerful efforts of Fox, Burke, and Dunning, in Parliament, in procuring a change of ministry. As the session advanced, and the public burdens became more evident, the national enthusiasm against the French and Spanish coalition, was made less available for upholding Lord North. On one occasion, on the celebrated motion of Dunning that "the influence of the crown had increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," the ministry were left in a minority. But they rallied, and being aided by the occurrence of the "No Popery" riots under Lord George Gordon, which alarmed the wavering, and brought over many to the side of the government, were by

the end of the session completely re-established in power. Parliament did not adjourn till the middle of 1780. Before adjournment they voted for the service of the year 1780, *eighty-five thousand* seamen, including marines, and *thirty-five thousand* troops, exclusive of those already abroad. For the service of the year, the House of Commons granted 21,196,496*l.*

In America the public exertions presented a striking and melancholy contrast to the energy and resources of Britain. The several causes of distress and embarrassment, so frequently alluded to, were at a fearful height towards the close of 1779 and the beginning of 1780. No effectual measures were taken to establish a permanent army. The officers generally remained, but the privates were to be annually recruited. The inefficiency of Congress, and the delays of the States, invariably left the Commander-in-chief without a respectable force at the opening of the campaign, and then sent him, at different periods, raw and undisciplined troops. The commissariat department fell into total discredit from the injudicious regulations of Congress, the annihilation of the public credit, and the manifold evils of the currency. No magazines of supplies could be provided for winter, and scarcely current provisions for the active season. The absurd measures for regulating prices by law were continued, and urged by Congress on the States with renewed pertinacity, after their bad effects were demonstrated by experience; and, it is painful to add, that large numbers of men of influence, including members of Congress, disgraced themselves by employing these for purposes of speculation and private gain. The national treasury was empty. The requisitions for money upon the States were complied with so slowly and scantily, as to be of little avail. Two hundred millions of paper money were in circulation, and no means provided for redemption, and no prospect for the future. Congress, in the middle of the year, had pledged the faith of the nation, in the most solemn manner, not to exceed this sum. A stratagem of the British government enhanced the confusion of this currency. Vast quantities of forged paper, closely imitating the genuine, were sent from England, and scattered throughout the country. This mean device aggravated the popular distrust, in the States, of the paper bills, and reduced their value still further. The aggregate of bills issued was, on the 1st of January, 1780, a little more than

203,000,000 of dollars. This prodigious amount had been thrown into circulation in about four years and a half, the date of the first emission being May, 1775. The amount issued in these years were thus: in 1776, $20,064,464; in 1777, $26,426,333; in 1778, $66,965,269; and in 1779, $149,703,856. These estimates are furnished by the register of the treasu" 1790. The bills passed at their nominal value until the iss eeded nine millions. The depreciation was afterwards ,ery great, and increased with the quantity put forth. In January, 1777, they were at a discount in Philadelphia of about twenty per cent.; before the close of the year, they were down to seventy-five per cent. discount. In December, 1778, they were worth about one-sixth of their nominal value. The fall throughout the year 1779, induced by the desperate state of the public finances, the immense issues, and the rage for speculation, was rapid and enormous. Paper dollars in January were to specie as about eight to one; in the summer, they fluctuated between eighteen and twenty-four for one; and in December, they had fallen to more than *forty* for *one*. These rates are the Philadelphia prices; in other parts of the country, the value was different, and in general lower.

A detailed history of continental money in all its vascillations and mischievous influences upon the morals, character, and fate of the revolution, would be a work fit for the study of the philosopher, and abounding with lessons of wisdom to nations. The mere money cost of the revolution was enhanced prodigiously by the wastefulness and expensiveness of those financial trickeries; and the whole was extorted, not from the nation, but by a sort of forced loans from individuals, and those, too, the patriots, for the tories shunned it from the beginning, except as an object of speculation. Every man in whose hands these bills depreciated, was in effect taxed so much for the war expenses, against his will and without law. The acts of compulsion, passed by Congress and the States, made this injustice more flagrant, and did not diminish, but the rather aggravated, the mischief. The ruin of credit, the suspension of all faith in business contracts, the discouragement to industry, the impoverishment of the innocent, and the robbing of labor of its earnings, did more to exhaust the available resources of the country than even the ravages of the enemy. The feverish excitements, the aversion to business, the spirit of

gambling and speculation, with all their train of demoralizing consequences, which sprung out of such an unnatural condition, were even more fatal in their effects. At this period of the war the States and the people, Congress and the army, every branch of public service, and the condition of the mass of the people, show how terribly they suffered under the distresses of the public finances and ruinous state of the currency, and the miserable legislation of Congress. The soldiers were paid in this worthless money, which would not produce them the necessaries of life, except at exorbitant rates. Three months pay would not purchase a pair of shoes. Their wants were, in consequence, extreme during the whole of this winter. Before the month of January expired, the soldiers, which had been encamped at Morristown and at West Point, were totally destitute of food. The stores were exhausted, and neither meat nor flour could be distributed for some days. They were driven by hunger to plunder the neighboring inhabitants, and the Commander-in-chief was compelled to make a military requisition upon New Jersey, apportioning to each county a certain quantity of provisions, to be furnished within six days. To the honor of the patriotic people of New Jersey, it is to be recorded, that the full quantity was promptly and seasonably furnished.

Notwithstanding the solemn pledge of Congress not to extend their issues of paper beyond *two hundred millions* of dollars, the increased wants of the army, and the failures of the States to comply with the requisitions made upon them, increased the amount, by the 1st of March, 1780, to more than three hundred millions. The expectation previously held out that the bills would be redeemed at their nominal amount was formally abandoned, and the States were required to bring them in for redemption at *forty* for *one*. Before this expedient was resorted to, Congress called upon the States to supply specific articles of provision and forage, but that scheme was found impracticable. The commutation experiment was then tried, and the old emission of bills was made receivable for taxes, at forty for one; and to be reissued, to the extent of one-twentieth of their previous amount, under the guarantee of the individual States. Four-tenths of these were made subject to the orders of Congress, and six-tenths to that of the States. This financial experiment failed. The States did not comply with the conditions,

and but a small amount of paper was brought in. The new issues altogether amounted to little more than two millions.

The next resort was to press for loans from their European allies, and in some cases, late in the year, so urgent were their necessities, they drew bills upon their ministers in Europe with no assurance of payment.

The history of continental money after this period is short, and may be summarily despatched here. The issues continued through 1780, though in diminished quantities, because worthless, until they amounted finally, in the beginning of 1781, to $357,476,545 of the old emission, and $2,070,485 of the new. The depreciation went on, until in May, 1781, they were sold at two hundred to five hundred for *one*. On the 31st of May, they ceased to circulate as money, and were bought up on speculation from five hundred for one, up to one thousand to fifteen hundred for one. So died the continental paper, quietly in the hands of the possessors.

Under such unfavorable internal auspices opened the year 1780. The hardships of the Northern army in their quarters at Morristown and West Point, were hardly less severe than those of the season at Valley Forge. The winter was one of extraordinary rigor. The frosts were so excessive, that New York bay and the rivers were frozen so hard that large armies, with the heaviest artillery, might have passed over safely. The city was, in consequence, assailable; but the deficiency of the American army in the requisite numbers, as well as in all things necessary for success, rendered it impossible for Washington to profit by the opportunity. The military establishment voted by Congress was 35,211 men, but few of them were in the field. Through the spring the efforts of the Commander-in-chief, his continued representations and pressing entreaties to Congress, and his appeals to the executives of the several states to act with energy, and prepare a proper force for active service, produced but tardy effects. In the beginning of April, the dissatisfaction of the army assumed a more alarming aspect, and threatened a mutiny. On one occasion the officers of some of the state lines, in a body, joined in giving notice, that on a certain day, they would resign their commissions, unless proper provision was made for them. They were by the personal exertions, prudence, and firmness of Washington, induced to forego their determination and continue in the service. In May two Connecticut

1780.

regiments paraded under arms, announcing their determination to obtain subsistence by force. The mutiny was quelled by the activity of the officers, and the ringleaders secured. All that Congress could do for relief, was to renew their resolutions, promising compensation for all past services, and engaging to make good the losses caused by the depreciation of continental money.

Operations in the field were suspended in the North during this season, in consequence of the transfer of the scene of action to the Carolinas. Sir Henry Clinton had sailed with the bulk of his army to the South, and left General Knyphausen, with a strong garrison, to maintain the posts in New York. The rumours of disaffection among the Americans induced General Knyphausen to believe them ripe for a revolt, and he accordingly moved over into New Jersey, with five thousand men, on the 6th of June. After advancing to Springfield, he found himself disappointed in his expectations; and if, as is thought, he designed attacking the camp of Washington, he nevertheless gave up the enterprise precipitately. The militia turned out in considerable numbers, and contested the way with the royal forces with obstinacy and courage. After committing characteristic enormities, burning houses, ravaging private property, and slaughtering the defenceless, the army retired to Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, opposite to Staten Island, where they remained until the return of Clinton from his successful Southern campaign. On his arrival no expedition of importance followed. Another incursion was made into New Jersey, in which Springfield was burnt.

June 6th.

In May the Marquis La Fayette returned from France, the bearer of the welcome tidings that a French fleet and army was about to follow him. His presence, and the cheering intelligence he brought, reanimated the feelings of the people, and stimulated Congress and the American general to fresh exertions, to be prepared to co-operate vigorously with their allies. Congress had pledged themselves to the French minister to bring a large force into the field, and the animating prospect of efficient succor, seconded by the reviving zeal of the people, encouraged the Commander-in-chief to believe that the pledge might be fulfilled. The disasters of the Southern campaign seemed not to have depressed the hopes of the Americans; and notwithstanding the fall of Charleston, and the subjugation of the Carolinas

they took the arrival of the French fleet as a certain omen of victory. Contributions and subscriptions for the common cause were freely made, and the ladies of Philadelphia, associated themselves for the purpose of ministering to the necessities of the army, and, after subscribing with generous profusion from their own means, personally solicited the aid of others with much success.

July 10th. On the tenth of July the French succors arrived at Newport, Rhode Island. The fleet, under the command of the Chevalier de Ternay, consisted of two ships of eighty guns, one of seventy-four, four of sixty-four, two frigates of forty, and a cutter of twenty, with bombs, and a large number of transports. The land forces were commanded by the Count de Rochambeau, and amounted to 6,000 men. The public congratulations to the foreign officers were warm; the town was illuminated on the occasion, and every demonstration of joy and welcome paid them by the American functionaries, civil and military. Washington took immediate measures for forming a joint plan of operations, the object of which was New York.

But before recounting the further events in the North, it will be proper to revert to the more active scene of military operations in the South. The order of time has not been strictly observed, in order to enable us to throw together in a connected series the history of the campaign in the Southern States.

Jan. 1780. Sir Henry Clinton, with 7,000 troops, convoyed by Admiral Arbuthnot, who had been sent out with a considerable fleet to America, in the summer of 1779, sailed from New York in December, and arrived, after a tedious and tempestuous passage, in the Tybee river, about the middle of January. The success of General Prevost in Georgia, and the general opinion entertained of the loyalty of a large portion of the Carolinians, induced him to believe the re-establishment of the royal authority would be less difficult in these provinces than it had been proved to be in the Northern and Middle States. Collecting his forces at Savannah, Clinton sailed on the 10th of February for Charleston, the first object of his expedition. He ordered twelve hundred of the troops of General Prevost, at Savannah, to follow him by land, and despatched orders to Knyphausen, at New York, to forward him supplies and reinforcements.

He took possession of John and James Islands and Stone Ferry, and in a short time was within a few miles of Charleston, with only the waters of the Ashley river between him and the city. Having received his reinforcements, his army amounted to 9,000 men, and on the 1st of April he commenced the siege in regular form.

Lincoln, with the remnants of the American army of 1779, had wintered at Sheldon. On the approach of Clinton's army, he retired into the city, and undertook its defence. The legislature was in session, and again, as in a previous emergency, invested Governor Rutledge with dictatorial powers; authorizing him "to do every thing necessary for the public good," except taking away the life of a citizen without legal trial. Armed with this authority, he made energetic calls upon the militia, but with little success. Notwithstanding the capital was in such imminent danger, scarcely two hundred obeyed the call. He next issued a proclamation, requiring every enrolled inhabitant of the town to repair to the garrison to do military duty, under a penalty of having his property confiscated. This had no better effect than solicitation. With all the exertions of Lincoln and Rutledge, the whole strength of the town, when Clinton crossed the Ashley, was less than three thousand, of whom, a thousand were North Carolina militia, and the rest continental regulars. Lincoln was indefatigable in strengthening the works. Several armed vessels that had been sent by Congress to aid them, under the command of Commodore Whipple, finding the passage of the bar indefensible, took their position at Fort Moultrie, but finally retired up the river, and the sailors were landed to aid in working the land batteries. The ships were sunk to obstruct the navigation. The lines were extended, and every possible preparation made for a vigorous and determined, though not a hopeful, resistance. The British Admiral, taking advantage of a favorable wind and tide, passed Fort Moultrie without receiving much damage from the fire, and anchored within the harbor, in the month of April. The next day, Sir Henry Clinton, having completed the first parallel, in his regular approaches to the city, summoned the garrison to surrender. Lee, who yet anticipated relief, answered resolutely, that it was his intention to defend himself to the last. The British batteries were accordingly opened upon the city, and a continued bombardment was kept up, under

cover of which the works were pushed forward. The communication with the country, by which troops and succor might reach them, or as would perhaps have been the safer policy, through which a retreat could have been made, was still practicable by the Cooper river. At a place called Monk's Corner, a small corps of Americans, under General Huger, had collected, and promised to form a rallying point for the militia, to keep the British in check, and possibly succor the city. Clinton despatched a detachment of fourteen hundred men, commanded by Webster, Tarleton, and Fergusson, the last two celebrated partizan officers, against the position. Their superiority in number, aided by the negligence of the Americans, enabled them to put the whole party to flight, and capture a large store of arms, clothing, and ammunition. Fort Moultrie surrendered on the 7th of May; and thus the city was beleagured on every side, and no avenue of escape left open. The British on the 8th of May completed the third parallel, which brought them to the very edge of the city, and made an immediate assault by storm inevitable. He again summoned the garrison to surrender; Lincoln accepted the conditions offered his troops, but, at the entreaty of the citizens, desired to make better terms for non-combatants and the militia. These were refused by Clinton, and hostilities were carried on with such an incessant firing from the British batteries, that, on the eleventh, the citizens themselves petitioned Lincoln to accept of the terms offered on the eighth, and the British general acquiescing, the capitulation was immediately signed. The next day the enemy took possession. The terms granted were favorable. The British commanders had strong expectations of reconciling the province to their royal master, and did not exercise their strength harshly. The American loss during the siege was 102 killed and 157 wounded; that of the enemy, 70 killed and 189 wounded. The number of prisoners, including adult citizens and militia, was about 5,000, but the regular force did not exceed 2,500. The proportion of officers was unusually large—men who came to the defence of the city, without being able to bring their troops with them. There were included in the capitulation, one major-general, six brigadiers, twenty-three colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and one hundred and sixty-eight captains and lieutenants, besides ensigns. No less than four hundred pieces of artillery, of

May 12th.

which three hundred and eleven were in the city, fell into the hands of the British.

Clinton followed up the reduction of the capital by sending out expeditions against the American posts in the interior, to secure the submission of the whole State. Ninety-Six and Augusta were the objects of two of them; the third, a large force, under Cornwallis, was destined to scour the country, between the Cooper and the Santee rivers, rouse the loyalists, and intercept the retreat of the American militia, who had marched from North Carolina towards Charleston, but failed to reach there before the surrender. These were commanded by Colonel Buford. On the intelligence of the fall of Charleston, they retreated by forced marches towards North Carolina, with a rapidity which made it apparently impossible to overtake them. Colonel Tarleton was detached by Cornwallis, with a strong corps of cavalry and mounted infantry in pursuit. By pushing on with unexampled celerity, Tarleton overtook the Americans at Waxsaw, and

May 29th | after a short encounter, routed the party, and captured their artillery, baggage, colors, indeed every thing. The carnage was terrible. The Americans, inferior in number, made but a feeble and brief resistance, and cried for quarter. This was refused, and the infuriated enemy continued to cut down and massacre without mercy, until tired with slaughter. One hundred and eight were killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and fifty-three prisoners; the loss of the victors were only seven killed and twelve wounded. "Tarleton's quarter" became afterwards a by-word, to express deliberate cruelty. The other detachment, on hearing of the slaughter at Waxsaw, retired into North Carolina, and Tarleton rejoined Cornwallis, who had advanced to Camden.

South Carolina was now fully in the power of the British The capital and principal posts were garrisoned with British soldiers, and no American force remained within her borders. Clinton, thinking the subjugation complete, and trusting to the promises of the loyalists, who were really numerous, and the professions of the greater multitudes, who, through dissimulation or fear, professed acquiescence in the king's government and a return to allegiance, wrote home that South Carolina was English again, and that there were few of the inhabitants who were not prisoners to, or in arms with, the British forces. He prepared to return to New

York as a victor; but before his departure proceeded to reorganize the civil government on the basis of a recovered British colony. Shortly after the surrender of Charleston, he issued a proclamation, threatening severe penalties and the confiscation of their estates, against all who should obstruct the re-establishment of the king's authority, or "hinder the king's faithful subjects from joining his forces, or performing those duties their allegiance required." Another proclamation, by Clinton and Arbuthnot, as Commissioners of Peace, extended to the inhabitants, with few exceptions, "pardon for their past treasonable offences," and a restoration to their rights and immunities as British subjects, "exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures." The silent acquiescence of the mass of the people in these proceedings, an acquiescence which flowed from a dread of the further calamities of war, and the hopelessness of making any effectual resistance against so powerful an enemy, was assumed by the British general as conclusive proof of the extinction of the revolutionary feeling, and the willingness of the people to resume the character of British subjects. Acting under this impression as to the majority, and with a wanton disregard of the feelings of the few who were yet openly faithful to Congress, he proceeded to demand of the people the services of British subjects. He issued a proclamation, declaring it to be "proper for all persons to take an active part in settling and securing his majesty's government;" discharging all those citizens who had given their parole as prisoners, requiring of them all the "duties" of citizens, and affirming that such of them as refused to return to their allegiance, should be considered and treated as "enemies and rebels." That no further doubt of his course might remain, he required all persons to be in readiness to bear arms for the king—those who had families for a home militia, those who had none to serve with the royal militia, for six months out of twelve. It was granted as a favor that they should not be called on to serve out of the two Carolinas and Georgia. These arbitrary proclamations left the inhabitants no resource, but to arm in behalf of Great Britain, or flee from the State. To obstruct even this choice of evils, it was soon after forbidden to make any transfer of property, but with the license of the Commander-in-chief.

May 22d.

June 1st.

In the beginning of June, Clinton left the command of

the Southern forces to Earl Cornwallis, then at Camden, and returned with a large body of troops to New York, where he joined General Knyphausen, as already mentioned. But his harsh policy had left a very different state of feeling from that upon which he had calculated so strongly. The multitude were exasperated, and ready to fly to arms at the first prospect of relief. In a little while it became evident that the forced quiet of the Carolinians was full of danger to the British troops. Feigned submission was hardly less fatal, because it disarmed vigilance, than open opposition. The more determined whigs gathered together, in corps, carrying on an indefatigable warfare against tories and enemies. Generals Sumpter and Marion distinguished themselves by their enterprise and gallantry in carrying on these partizan expeditions. The tories retaliated where they could; and, especially in North Carolina, exhibited impatient zeal to join the enemy. Collisions between republicans and loyalists—one party struggling to aid the British in keeping the country under subjection, and the other struggling to harass the traitors and retard the operations of the enemy—made the frontiers a scene of perpetual alarm, and kept the country in a state of restless and feverish excitement.

In July, Sumpter, who was in North Carolina, at the head of a small corps of exiled South Carolinians, made a dashing attack upon a detachment of the royal forces, near the frontier, and routed them, with heavy loss. His numbers were rapidly increased by volunteers; and, a few days afterwards, he made another attack upon the British, entrenched at Rocky Mount, but, for the want of ammunition, was unable to make any impression. Foiled here, he turned rapidly against a detachment composed of the Prince of Wales regiment, and a large body of tories from North Carolina, and scattered them with prodigious loss. Nine only, out of two hundred and seventy-eight of the regulars, survived, and the tories were dispersed. These gallant and successful enterprises raised the spirits of the whigs, and like parties, under independent leaders, started up in other parts of the State, keeping the field to harass the royal militia and regulars wherever they could, and when retreating before superior force they easily eluded pursuit. These actions served to reanimate the spirits of the native Carolinians, while, in the mean time, a continental force was advancing to relieve them, through the Middle States.

With much difficulty Congress had been enabled to furnish, late in the season, a body of regular force to operate in the South. They consisted of the Maryland and Delaware lines, about two thousand in number. They landed in Petersburgh in April, and marched to Hillsborough, North Carolina, under the command of Major-general the Baron de Kalb. The militia of North Carolina, commanded by General Caswell, and those of Virginia, by General Stephens, prepared to join him. The animation which the presence of these troops inspired, augured well of the success of the campaign; and the appointment of General Gates to the chief command strengthened this confidence. Great results were anticipated from the tried valor and skill of the hero of Saratoga. The strength of the army, when he joined it at Deep Run, was more than three thousand men. Advancing into South Carolina, he issued a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants to take up arms, and promising pardon to all who had been coerced into taking the British oaths, except such as had committed depredations against the lives and property of citizens. The proclamation brought multitudes to his standard. In more than one instance, whole companies that had been levied in the province for the king's service, went over to Gates, carrying their arms, and sometimes their officers with them. Lord Rawdon, who was then in command at Camden, on receiving tidings of the approach of Gates, drew in his posts, and concentrated his force at that place. Cornwallis himself hastened from Charleston, and arrived at Camden on the fourteenth of August.

July 25th.

Gates had, however, committed a capital error, as the event showed, in his choice of routes from Hillsborough to the vicinity of Camden. The council of war had advised De Kalb to make a detour through the well cultivated settlements of the Waxhaws; but Gates, on taking command, decided on pursuing the direct route, considering it to be his policy, while his numbers were superior, to reach the British position by the shortest road. This unfortunately led through pine barrens, sand hills, and swamps; and, during the march, provisions failed. The troops were reduced to feed on the lean cattle they could pick up in the woods, and for some days had no other food than green corn and peaches. From the unhealthiness of the season and climate, added to this meager and unwholesome diet, violent diseases

broke out among them, threatening the total destruction or dispersion of the army. The symptoms of insubordination that at first appeared, were easily quelled by the prudence of the officers; and the sufferings of the soldiers were borne with great patience and good humor. On the 13th of August they reached Clermont, about twelve miles from Camden, in a state of extreme exhaustion. The next day they were strengthened by General Stephens's Virginia brigade.

Intelligence having been received from Sumpter, who was encamped beyond the Wateree river, that a convoy of provisions was on the way from Ninety-Six to Camden, Gates sent Colonel Woodford, with four hundred men of the Maryland line to aid in surprising it. Thus weakened, his troops were about 3,660; of whom 970, infantry and cavalry, were continentals, the rest militia. Cornwallis had but seventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. On

Aug. 15th. | the night of the 15th, Cornwallis put his army in motion, to attack the Americans in their camp, and Gates was advancing to take up a position nearer to Camden. The vanguards of both armies met in the night and engaged. The skirmish dispirited the Americans, who were repulsed, and their line thrown into disorder for a while. Some cross firing took place during the night, and in the morning a general engagement commenced between the two armies. The fate of the battle was in effect decided at the first onset. The Virginia and Carolina militia, who formed the left wing, on being ordered to advance to support the artillery, wavered. The British, seeing their hesitation, charged them with fixed bayonets, upon which, panic struck, they threw down their arms and fled from the field. No efforts could rally them, and the whole force of the enemy was turned against the Maryland and Delaware regiments, who formed the right. These sustained the fight gallantly. Colonel Howard, with his regiment, who were in the van, several times drove in the enemy, who were then commanded by Lord Rawdon. For some time they had clearly the best of the action, and, had the left behaved well, must have gained a victory. They were at last charged in the flank by Tarleton's cavalry, surrounded, overpowered, and driven from the field in complete route. They were pursued for upwards of twenty miles. The loss was terrible in every respect. All the American artillery, field pieces, ammunition wagons, and much of the baggage, was lost.

The killed, wounded, and captured, were not less than two thousand. General De Kalb was mortally wounded; General Rutherford was wounded and taken prisoner; and so total was the defeat, that few officers who escaped could find their respective commands. The British reported their loss at three hundred and twenty-four.

Sumpter, who had succeeded in his expedition against the convoy, on hearing of the defeat of Gates, retreated, as he thought, to a safe distance. On the eighteenth, he was overtaken by Tarleton's cavalry, at Fishing Creek, surprised, and his troops routed with great slaughter. One hundred and fifty of his men were killed, three hundred taken prisoners, and his baggage and artillery captured. He, with about three hundred and fifty men, were fortunate enough to escape by dispersing themselves. Aug. 18th.

Gates, with the shattered remnants of his army, arrived at Charlotte, eighty miles from Camden, on the nineteenth; and hearing of Sumpter's defeat retired further to Salisbury: and again, after a few days, to Hillsborough, a hundred and eighty miles from the field of action.

Cornwallis did not pursue the fugitive Americans, after withdrawing his troops from the action at Camden. The complete dispersion of the continental army, left the country totally in his power, and he proceeded to use his triumph rigorously. His first care was to inflict vengeance upon all those who had taken arms against the king, after receiving protections. Orders were given to hang every militiaman, who, having been enrolled under the king's proclamation, had joined the Americans, and a number were actually executed. He appointed commissioners to confiscate their estates. Some of the most respectable inhabitants were confined in prison-ships, or sent away from their families to St. Augustine. Having enforced these rigorous measures to break the spirit of the people, and received supplies and reinforcements from Charleston, on the 16th of September, he set out towards North Carolina. Marion kept the field with his corps, occasionally making rapid excursions against the tories or straggling parties of the British, and suddenly retiring into the mountains. Sumpter, soon after, gathered his forces together, and resumed the like enterprises in the eastern part of the State. They did most valuable service to the American cause, especially in keeping the tories in check.

Proceeding with caution, for the panic created by the defeat of Gates had now worn off, and the people were alert to harass and obstruct his march, Cornwallis arrived at Charlotte about the last of September, where he prepared to establish a post. Colonels Tarleton and Fergusson, two eminent partizan officers, were sent out to scour the country on each side. Fergusson, the first in point of time, marked his path with traces of such cruelty and devastation, as to kindle a furious resentment, which brought on his ruin. Having penetrated towards Georgia, to co-operate with some royalist troops there, the militia collected to intercept his return, and arming themselves with such weapons as they could find, attacked him in the post which he had taken on King's
Oct. 7th. | Mountain. The fight was bloody and obstinate. Fergusson was slain, and three hundred of his men killed or wounded. His second in command surrendered the survivors prisoners. Eight hundred prisoners were taken, and amongst the spoil were fifteen hundred stand of arms. The American loss was about twenty. Cornwallis, who was leisurely marching towards Salisbury, on hearing of Fergusson's fate, commenced a retreat, and, late in October, established himself at Winnsborough. Tarleton undertook to cut off Sumpter's troop, which was encamped at Blackstock Hill, but was repulsed in his attack. Sumpter was, however, obliged to retreat, not being strong enough to encounter the reinforcements expected by Tarleton.

These successful actions roused the hopes of the Americans. The army had been materially strengthened at Hillsborough by the arrival of succors from Virginia, by Morgan's celebrated rifle corps, and the cavalry under Colonels Washington and White. On the 8th of September they advanced to Salisbury, where intelligence was received of the removal of General Gates, and the substitution of General Greene in the command of the Southern army. Gates, with admirable
Dec. 2d. | philosophy, redoubled his efforts to improve the discipline and condition of the army, and on the arrival of Greene, in December, received him with cordiality and friendship.

The American army established itself for the remainder of the year at Charlotte Greene, unable to cope with the superior force of Cornwallis in the field, determined upon recruiting his army, and, avoiding a general action, to harass

and reduce his enemy by partizan warfare, with the assistance of the volunteer bands which abounded in the States.

Soon after Cornwallis had posted himself at Winnsborough he received a reinforcement from New York, under the command of General Leslie, amounting to fifteen hundred men. Leslie had been sent with a larger force to ravage the Virginia coasts, and had accordingly landed there for that purpose. On the defeat of Fergusson he was summoned to join Cornwallis, and immediately proceeded to Charleston. Leaving a portion of his force there, he marched the bulk of his detachment to Winnsborough.

No further military actions took place in the South until the beginning of the year 1781, that require notice. At that time in Virginia, a British force committed wide and wanton ravages, under the command of Benedict Arnold; the same who, at the commencement of the year, was a General in the American army, and of whom such frequent mention has been made as one of the earliest to take up arms for liberty, and one of the ablest and most gallant soldiers in her cause. The motives of this extraordinary change, and the circumstances of perfidy and ingratitude under which it was made, belong to the history of the military events in the North, contemporaneous with the Southern campaigns we have been describing.

The leading object of Washington, in all his plans of action, was the possession of New York. In the absence of Sir Henry Clinton, with so large a part of the British army, it was his intention that the expected French fleet should blockade the harbor, while the land forces should attack Knyphausen, in the city. The force which Clinton brought with him from South Carolina, augmented the garrison to at least eleven thousand fine troops, and rendered that part of the plan, in the condition of the American army, almost hopeless. Admiral Arbuthnot had returned with Sir Henry, and, not long after, Admiral Graves arrived from England, with six sail of the line. These gave the English a decided superiority by sea, so that the plans of Washington were frustrated in both respects. The British undertook to avail themselves of this superiority, and projected an attack by land and sea on the French fleet and army at Newport. The fleet, under Admiral Graves, sailed for Rhode Island, and six thousand of the best troops, under Clinton in person, were landed at Huntington Bay. The French were found to be strongly entrenched, and by

sea they were unassailable. The militia turned out with alacrity, and in great numbers, to defend them; and dissensions broke out between the two hostile commanders, Clinton and Graves. The enterprise was accordingly abandoned, and Sir Henry hastened back to New York, alarmed at the intelligence that Washington had seized the opportunity of his absence, crossed the river, and marched down towards King's Bridge, making demonstrations against the city. Washington retired when Clinton returned, and recrossing into New Jersey, took up a position at Orangetown and fortified Dobbs' Ferry. Just at this juncture, the commissary department failed altogether to furnish supplies, and the commander was compelled to open his magazines at West Point, and order out parties to forage on the suffering inhabitants. This, when the army was on the eve of moving actively against the enemy and looking for the cooperation of the second French armament, was peculiarly trying to the Commander-in-chief. Tidings soon after arrived that the additional French succors designed for America were blockaded in the harbor of Brest by a British squadron, and would not arrive until the next season. In the midst of these successive disappointments and disasters, the discovery was made that treason was busy in the camp, and that one of the bravest and oldest officers in the armies of Liberty had sold himself and his country for gold to the enemy. Washington was at Hartford, Connecticut, arranging a system of combined action with the French commanders,

Sept. 21st. when Arnold was detected in a correspondence with the British, in which he had contracted to make his treason profitable by delivering West Point into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton, receiving in return a British commission and ten thousand pounds in money. West Point was the most important post in the possession of the Americans. As a military position, it commands the navigation of the Hudson river, and is the key to the communication between the Southern and Eastern States. It had accordingly been fortified with great care and expense, and was the repository of the most valuable stores of the army; and, at the time of Arnold's defection, it was the resting point upon which the fate of the American army turned. Had it fallen into the hands of the enemy, no sagacity nor courage could have saved the whole of the army in the

Middle States from being cut to pieces or captured in detail. The possession of the States of New York and New Jersey, the command of the great channels of intercourse between the States, a complete division of the remnants of the republican forces, and an efficient concentration of those of Great Britain must have been the fruits of this treason had it been successful. What might have been the effects upon the progress of the war it is difficult to imagine. The blow would undoubtedly have been most severe and disastrous. The value of the prize to the British induced them to enter eagerly into negotiation with the traitor, and offer a munificent price for the treachery.

The motives which operated upon Arnold are easily traced. Cupidity and revenge were the passions that influenced him, and they easily overcame all compunctious feelings in a mind so ill-regulated as his, and debased by long self-indulgence in habits of dissipation and extravagance. Daring in the field, a hardy and venturous soldier, and a tried and skilful officer, he was immoral in his private habits, haughty in his deportment, and lavish in his expenditures, beyond any means within his reach. The wounds he had received at Quebec and Saratoga induced him to retire from active service, and he became commandant of Philadelphia when the British evacuated that place in 1778. There he made himself unpopular by his manners and luxurious style of living, and involved himself hopelessly in debt. To retrieve his fortunes he entered largely into various speculations which failed, and openly trafficked in frauds on the military departments till complaints were formally lodged against him, and Congress brought him to court martial for the offences. His accounts were proved to be fraudulent, and he was sentenced, with uncommon lenity, to be only reprimanded by the Commander-in-chief. Debt, disappointment, and shame rankled in his breast, and to gratify his passions and relieve himself from his pecuniary embarrassments, he entered into a negotiation with General Clinton. Artfully disguising his purpose, he applied for active employment, and when the command of the left wing was offered him, on the march towards New York, he declined it, and asked for the command of West Point, which was accordingly bestowed upon him. The correspondence already opened with the British through Major André, Adjutant-general of the British army, under the fictitious names

of Gustavus and Anderson, now approached the consummation of the treason. The British sloop of war Vulture was brought as near the American works as practicable, in order to facilitate the communication. A personal interview being deemed necessary, on the night of the 21st of September, André was landed from the Vulture, and had an interview with Arnold on the beach, to arrange finally the plan of operations. The disposition of the American troops, by which they were to fall into the power of Clinton, was settled, and full drawings and details furnished of the works, defences, and every thing appertaining to the post. Day dawned before the conference was ended, and André's return was prevented. During the day the Vulture was compelled by the fire of some artillery to drop down the river, and he could not be put on board again. No other resource was left him than to return to New York by land. Changing his uniform for a common dress, he was provided with a horse and a passport, under the name of John Anderson. He succeeded in passing safely the American outposts, and had nearly reached the British lines when he was stopped by three American militiamen. Seizing his bridle they demanded his business. Surprised out of his caution, thinking himself safe so near the British posts, instead of showing his pass he asked, hastily, "Where do you belong?" "Below," was the reply, meaning New York. "So do I," was the rash and fatal rejoinder of André, and he avowed himself a British officer, on urgent business. They instantly arrested him, notwithstanding his pressing intreaties and large bribes, on discovering his mistake. They rejected his purse and his watch, as well as the most liberal promises of reward, if they would accompany him to the city. Inflexible in their fidelity to their country, they proceeded to search him, and found the treasonable papers, in the hand writing of Arnold, concealed in his boot. They carried him to Lieutenant-colonel Jameson, who commanded the outposts at West Point, where André was permitted to address a note to Arnold, informing him of the arrest of Anderson. The traitor took the alarm and escaped on board of the Vulture, leaving the penalty of his guilt to be paid by the unfortunate André. Washington had been informed by express of the discovery, and arrived at West Point too late to secure Arnold. A board of general officers was detailed, of which General Greene was President, to determine the character in which the prisoner was

Sept. 21st.

to be considered, and the punishment to be inflicted. No witnesses were examined. The statements of Andrè were frankly and ingenuously made, admitting all the facts not implicating others, but contending that it was against his will that he had been brought within the American lines. The board unanimously reported "that he ought to be considered as a spy, and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death." The report was made on the 29th of September, and communicated to Sir Henry Clinton by Washington, as a final answer to the earnest remonstrances and entreaties of that officer in behalf of his friend and brother soldier. Few men were ever so generally admired and esteemed as Andrè appears to have been by the British army. Young, handsome, amiable, gallant, and accomplished, he was popular among all classes of the army, and the firmness and graceful dignity of his conduct under these trying circumstances, won for him the sympathy and regard of his enemies. As a last effort to save him, Clinton proposed a conference between general officers, and Greene was despatched by Washington to meet with the British general, Robertson. The arguments were still unavailing. An absurd and threatening letter from Arnold had no effect. Threats of retaliation were equally fruitless. Washington was satisfied that the interests of his country, and duty to the army, required the execution of the sentence, and painful though it was to his generous feelings, he resisted all overtures and entreaties. The prayer of Andrè to be spared the shame of dying on the gallows, and to suffer death by being shot, was referred to the board, and by their counsel, against the pleadings of their sensibilities in behalf of the unhappy sufferer, it was refused. On the 2d of October he was executed according to his sentence, meeting his fate with a fortitude and composure which fitted well with the tenor of his life and character. Oct. 2d.

Arnold received the reward of his apostacy, and the execrations of those who paid him the price for which they had contracted. He was created a brigadier, received 10,000*l.*, and immediately issued an address, justifying his course as the result of patriotism, and calling upon the American people, to look on Congress as their worst enemies, and flock to the standard of his majesty, where they would receive the honors and pay due to their services.

Washington took no notice of this address, or his letters, but sent him his family and baggage.

Arnold's invitations, though enforced by the most liberal offers of pay, had no effect in inducing the continental soldiers to follow him. Though at no season of the war did more distress exist among them, not a man of them accompanied or sympathized with the traitor. On the contrary, it is a fact deserving notice, that the ordinary desertions ceased altogether at this period.

The three patriotic militiamen, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, the captors of Andrè, received the public thanks of Congress for their "virtuous and patriotic conduct." A pension was settled on each of them for life, and a silver medal presented to them, on one side of which was the motto, "Fidelity," and on the other, "Vincit amor patriæ."

The approach of winter enabled Washington to carry his few and weak troops securely into winter quarters. He occupied the same position as during the preceding season. Sir Henry Clinton embraced the opportunity of detaching succors to Cornwallis, in the South, under General Leslie, the arrival of which has been already noticed in the account of the Southern campaign.

To relate the condition of the American army in their winter encampment would be to recapitulate the wants, sufferings, and labors of every preceding winter. Pay, clothing, fuel, food, shelter, were at all times deficient; and new causes of discontent added insubordination and mutiny to the other vexations and difficulties of the Commander-in-chief. The soldiers had good cause to complain. There was abundance in the land; the harvests had been plenty, and ample resources for maintaining and provisioning the army were in the country, while from the want of system and energy in the government the soldiers were almost perishing for lack of necessaries. The new system of raising troops adopted by Congress, by which the States supplied and paid their own quotas, produced gross inequalities, which bore heavily on the old troops. Some of the new recruits were paid in gold, while those who had been long in the service could get neither gold nor the almost worthless paper payment. Disputes rose about the term of enlistment. They who had enlisted for three years, "or during the war," insisted on their right to a release at the end of three years, while

Congress construed the term to extend to the whole war, at the option of the States. These and other causes of dissatisfaction grew to such violence that on the first day of the year the Pennsylvania line, to the number of more than thirteen hundred, revolted, and turned out with arms in their hands, declaring their determination to march to Congress and demand redress. Every effort to appease them failed. Some lives were lost in the attempt to bring them into order. La Fayette tried his popularity by imploring them to pause and return to their duty, but they would not listen. Wayne, to whom they were much attached, went boldly among them, and menaced them with punishment. They answered him firmly; protested they were not going to the enemy; and when in the ardor of his exhortations he cocked his pistol, a hundred bayonets were pointed at him. He was forced to desist, and the mutineers marched to Princeton. Jan. 1st, 1781.

Sir Henry Clinton, informed of these disorders, thought to entice the insurgents into the British service. He sent emissaries among them, with tempting offers. Indignant at this attempt upon their fidelity, they seized the British agents and delivered them to General Wayne. Two of them were afterwards executed as spies. The revolters committed no depredations, except seizing upon food; to prevent the recurrence of which, General Wayne forwarded provisions for their use. A committee of Congress, and a deputation from the Pennsylvania authorities, met them at Princeton, and by liberal concessions, overlooking their mutinous conduct, relieving their necessities in part, and promising complete indemnity for their losses, succeeded in satisfying them. Part of them were discharged, and the rest received furloughs for forty days. They all received an immediate supply of clothing and necessaries, and the revolt was thus happily quelled. It deserves to be mentioned that these mutineers, while negotiating with Congress with arms in their hands, absolutely refused to receive the reward which President Reed offered them for apprehending the British emissaries. Their necessities forced them, they said, to demand justice from their own government, but they desired no reward for doing their duty to their country against her enemies.

The civil government had been left to manage these disturbances; but, in a few days, another revolt broke out in

the Jersey brigade, nearer to the head-quarters of Washington, which he deemed it necessary to quell by vigorous measures. The mutineers in this case were mostly foreigners, and relying on the fidelity of the New England troops, he despatched General Howe to quell the revolt. The ringleaders were seized, and two or three of them executed. The rest returned to their duty.

These mutinies were indeed alarming symptoms of a crisis in the administration of public affairs. The errors of system, which had unhappily prevailed so long, had reached a point where it was clearly impossible that they should continue without total ruin to the cause of liberty. Fortunately some of the most fatal of them had exhausted themselves, and the recuperative energies of the people had gathered the means, under a better system, of repairing some of the mischiefs of others. Paper money had nearly perished in its own excess, and this resource failing, Congress and the people were compelled to choose between providing some efficient mode to sustain the army, and pay the expenses of the government, and disbanding at once. The emergency called forth the energies of the leading patriots, and the invigorated spirit of the nation seconded them. Commerce had begun to revive, especially with the West Indies; industry prospered; the cultivation of the soil had been resumed, and money became much more plenty among the people. In the latter part of 1780, Congress issued circular letters to the States, calling upon them earnestly for vigorous efforts, and in Congress the ablest men were zealous in devising at last some effectual mode of restoring public credit, and making the improved condition of the people available for the public wants. This was a point of extreme difficulty. The pernicious effects of former errors, the miserable condition of the finances, the breach of faith in regard to the vast amount of continental bills afloat, and the irresponsibility of Congress as a political body, presented almost insuperable difficulties. The patriotism of the people went before the authority of Congress, and spontaneous exertions to aid the common cause by subscriptions and individual enterprise, showed that the torpor which prevailed during the year 1779 and the beginning of 1780 had given place to a new zeal. The savage mode of conducting the war in the South, adopted by the British after the return of Clinton to New York, contributed to stimulate the Americans to action

under the influence of feelings of resentment. The arrival of the French succors in the summer, with the expectation of large additional aid, gave them hopes of speedily bringing the war to a termination. The militia came at the call of the States with greater alacrity. Capitalists subscribed to replenish the treasury. The society of ladies of Philadelphia, at the head of which was the wife of Washington, collected large sums to be applied for paying bounty to recruits and augmenting their pay. Their example was followed in other States, and its influence on the popular enthusiasm was great. The revolt of the Philadelphia and New Jersey troops hastened these exertions, and awakened a strong sympathy for the suffering condition of the army. The amount of three months' pay in specie was raised, and forwarded to them, and received with joy and gratitude. The close of the year, which saw the civil affairs of Congress in the worst possible state, and the army in a condition of destitution and dismemberment, was marked by a renewal among the people of the ardor and enterprise of the early stages of the revolution. This happy improvement in the dispositions and means of the people was not long in producing a beneficial effect upon the action of Congress; but the penalty of former mismanagement could not be escaped, and it was slowly that public measures, even sustained by public sentiment, could be made to reach and remove the sources of the public embarrassments in conducting the war. Energy and perseverance succeeded in triumphing over some of the weightiest difficulties, and preparing the means for an efficient campaign for the ensuing year, in anticipation of the French aid which had promised to be added to that brought by Rochambeau. Taxation was resorted to, and acquiesced in readily. Urgent instructions were sent to foreign ministers to press for loans and subsidies from their allies in Europe, and a special minister, Colonel John Laurens, was sent to aid in the negotiation. At home, the States made unusual exertions, and brought a much larger number of men than had been customary into the field at an earlier season. For the supplies a system of State requisition was adopted, by which regularity was established during the next campaign. The New England States sent a Convention to Providence, by whose agency the articles apportioned to them were furnished monthly, and in proper quantities. The requisitions for the important article of flour were made

on the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. The first only could be depended upon, in consequence of the exhausted condition of the others, from the depredations of the enemy and the necessary impressments by the American army. The State authorities committed the collection of this article to Robert Morris, to whom, under a new financial system, the treasury concerns of the United States had been entrusted. He assumed the collection of the taxes, and contracted to furnish the flour. His personal credit and large means were freely used to sustain the government, and the supplies were duly furnished. In the course of the year the Bank of North America, established under his care, is believed to have had a beneficial influence upon the currency and on public credit.

Foreign pecuniary aid was at last obtained in a substantial form, in time to facilitate the operations of the eventful campaign of 1781. Franklin obtained from the French king a gift of six millions of livres, and a loan of ten millions. The efforts of Mr. Adams to obtain a loan in Holland were ineffectual, until the French king engaged to guarantee the repayment. Ten millions of livres were raised there. These sums, partly in specie and partly in clothing and arms, served essentially to maintain the armies by which the brilliant and decisive campaign of 1781 was fought.

Spain refused all pecuniary aid, though solicited earnestly by the American minister, Mr. Jay, except upon such terms as manifested a disposition to take ungenerous advantage of the pecuniary difficulties of the Americans. The Spanish court had not acceded to the treaties between France and the United States, nor acknowledged the Independence of the latter. Their minister was, therefore, not recognized, and was subjected to numerous mortifications and embarrassments. The bills drawn upon him by Congress would have been dishonoured, although the Spanish minister had undertaken to assist him, but for the aid of Dr. Franklin at Paris. The Spanish court would furnish the money only in return for an acknowledgment of the right of Spain to the Mississippi, and the territory west of the Alleghanys,—a claim which Mr. Jay firmly resisted. No terms could be agreed upon satisfactory to either party, and the negotiation was not completed until its final transfer to Paris at the close of the war.

Holland, at the time of the loan, was at open war with

England. The relations between the States General and the United States are intimately connected with the causes of the rupture between the former and Great Britain. Jealousy of the great naval superiority of Britain, and distaste of the arrogance with which that superiority was asserted, were permanent causes of coolness between the two countries. The peculiar commercial character of the Dutch made them regard with repugnance the vexatious interruptions to trade caused by the system of maritime laws with regard to neutral rights, maintained by the British government, and enforced by her powerful navy. It has been seen that they gave encouragement to American privateers, and refused to interfere when the British minister, Yorke, demanded the surrender of Paul Jones, when that officer carried the captured Serapis into the Texel. The refusal was offensive to the British ministry, and they evidently sought an opportunity for coming to an open rupture, which was as carefully avoided by the Dutch. In the beginning of the year 1780, a British fleet arrested a convoy of Dutch merchantmen, laden with military stores, under the protection of a Dutch man-of-war, commanded by Admiral Byland. On his refusal to permit the search for contraband, the British commander took possession of the whole, and carried them into Spithead. Even this did not drive the States General into the expected declaration of war. They had too many valuable merchant vessels abroad to be risked against the immense navy of England, and they preferred remonstrances and negotiation. The *armed neutrality* of that year, of which the empress of Russia put herself at the head, showed the wary Hollanders, that that powerful European combination would enforce the doctrines of neutral rights involved in their disputes with England, without the hazard of a war on their own account. This celebrated alliance originated in a declaration by the court of Russia, made on the 26th of February, 1780, and agreed to during that summer by France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, affirming a code of neutral rights, different from that maintained by England, and pledging the parties to make common cause in supporting it. The declaration asserted, that neutral ships should freely navigate even from port to port on the coasts of belligerents, except to places actually besieged or blockaded, and with a proviso, that they do not carry contraband articles. "Contraband" was defined to mean only "warlike stores

and ammunition." This was a coalition against the British interests and doctrines too formidable to be resisted at once. An evasive answer was given by the British court, and they persevered in their efforts to force the Dutch into a war. The opportunity was afforded them by an authentic discovery of the negotiations privately carried on between functionaries of the States General and the American Commissioners. In the summer of 1778, William Lee, the Envoy of the United States to Berlin, on his way to that court, had an interview with one of the principal merchants of Amsterdam in relation to a commercial intercourse between the two countries. In September the plan of a treaty for that purpose was agreed upon and approved by Van Berkel, the chief magistrate, or grand pensionary, as was his title, of the city of Amsterdam. Congress, in the summer of 1780, sent Henry Laurens of South Carolina, on a diplomatic commission to Holland, to conclude the treaty. The packet Mercury, in which he sailed, was captured off the banks of Newfoundland by the British frigate Vestal. Mr. Laurens threw his despatches overboard, but they were recovered by the activity of a sailor, and the papers transmitted to the British ministry. Mr. Laurens was committed to the tower on a charge of high treason, and an instant demand made upon the Dutch government for the punishment of "Van Berkel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace and violators of the rights of nations." No answer was given by the Dutch, and the demand was almost immediately followed by a declaration of war by the king of Great Britain against the United Provinces of Holland. Both houses of parliament voted addresses to the king, approving of the declaration.

To sustain themselves against such numerous enemies, the British nation made amazing exertions. No opposition was offered in parliament to the voting of immense sums for the service of the coming year, and the raising of prodigious armaments by sea and land. Ninety-one thousand seamen, and, including foreign troops, about eighty thousand land troops were voted. The whole amount granted for the public service was £22,158,337. Against these numerous hostile fleets and armies, England displayed a constancy of courage and extent of resources which demand unqualified admiration. In both hemispheres she kept her enemies at bay; foiled the French and Spanish fleets, boldly challenged the

Dutch, carried on a contest with her revolted Colonies, and maintained with brilliant success expensive and momentous warfare against the native princes in India. If her conduct had been haughty and tyrannical in her prosperity, her trials brought forth a heroic resolution, and roused her to efforts of almost unexampled strength.

The main object of France and Spain during the year 1780, had been to humble the maritime power of Britain. The West Indies was the theatre of their combined operations, and vast armaments on both sides were employed there with alternate success. Naval battles of great magnitude were fought in the European seas without any decisive issue, and with little direct influence on the American war. But the occupation of the immense navies of Great Britain against her European enemies, was indirectly the gain of the Americans.

The memorable defence of Gibraltar by the English General Elliot against a long and persevering siege, a defence which is considered one of the most gallant in the annals of war, was protracted through this year.

The French Admiral De Ternay died in December, at Newport, and was succeeded by the Count D'Estouches. The French troops and fleet remained inactive a long time in Rhode Island. Their first active service was in the commencement of the next year. We have already seen that the traitor Arnold signalized his zeal in behalf of his new service, by taking the command of an expedition fitted out from New York, to make a descent upon the coast of Virginia. This was part of the energetic policy resolved upon by the enemy for carrying on the war in America. It had determined to act vigorously on several points at once, and to carry on operations simultaneously in New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina. Arnold was appointed, at the head of sixteen hundred men, aided by a number of armed vessels, to invade Virginia, and prevent that State from sending succors to the Southern army under Greene. He landed in the beginning of January below Richmond, in James river, and in two days marched to that town, burnt and plundered it. (Jan. 5th, 1781.) With all the flaming zeal of a new proselyte to Great Britain, the apostate general outdid in ferocity the devastations of his predecessors in the service. He made numerous excursions through the country, and in every place marked his path with the same cruelty and

wantonness. Returning to the coast, he gave indications of establishing a permanent post at Portsmouth. Washington, to arrest this career of havoc, dispatched La Fayette to Virginia, with twelve hundred American infantry, and proposed to the French Admiral to send a part of the French fleet to intercept the retreat of the British by sea, and capture their vessels. The proposal was gladly embraced, and on the 8th of March the fleet sailed for the Chesapeake, with a large addition of land forces to co-operate with La Fayette. A detachment of the squadron had been sent before, which succeeded in capturing a forty-four gun ship and some smaller vessels. The British Admiral Arbuthnot followed the French, and the fleets, in about a week, came in contact

March 10. | off the Capes of Virginia. An action took place, which was indecisive as a battle, no ship being taken on either side, but the fruits of the victory belonged to the British. The French were forced to abandon their design, and return to Newport, and Clinton reinforced Arnold strongly. General Phillips landed at Portsmouth on the 20th, and took the command. The troops he brought with him augmented the British force in Virginia to 3,500, and they immediately renewed the predatory enterprises by which Arnold had made himself so infamous. On these excursions he ravaged both sides of the James river, captured and plundered Williamsburgh, City Point, and Petersburgh, where an ineffectual opposition was attempted by the militia, commanded by Governor Nelson and Baron Steuben. General La Fayette, who had been recalled as far as the head of the Elk river, marched back to the reinforcement of the militia, and checked the further advance of Phillips. The approach of Cornwallis from the South recalled Phillips from his partizan warfare, and he marched to join that commander at Petersburgh. On the 13th of May General Phillips died, and on the 20th the junction with Cornwallis took place. La Fayette, who had displayed indefatigable zeal and celerity in watching and harassing the forces of Phillips, fell back to the other side of the river, and encamped below Richmond.

Here was the scene of the final military struggle between Great Britain and the United States. La Fayette was first on the field, and gallantly maintained the fortunes of America with inferior forces against Cornwallis. But, before narrating the events of the memorable conflict in Virginia, it is neces-

sary to review the progress of the war in other quarters, which finally brought the main strength of both parties to decide the question of American Independence near the Capes of Virginia. The first and most prominent in interest is the brilliant career of Greene in the Southern States. With an inferior force of badly armed and scantily supplied soldiery, notwithstanding repeated defeats and repulses, by his genius, constancy, and courage, he triumphed over the enemies of his country, and in a series of skilful and gallant actions, recovered the Carolinas, and established the revolution in the Southern States.

CHAPTER XIV.

The defeat of General Gates at the battle of Camden, disastrous as it truly was to the American arms, elated the British to an extravagant pitch. South Carolina was thought to be totally subjugated, and preparations were made by Cornwallis to proceed in his career of victory to the invasion of North Carolina. The reverse sustained in the battle of King's Mountain, and the defeat and death of Fergusson there, had checked his career for the present, to be resumed as soon as he could repress and punish the manifestations of patriotic feeling, which had broken out among the people into symptoms of revolt on the approach of Gates, and afterwards on the fall of Fergusson. With the tories of North Carolina he held constant communication, and relied upon liberal aid from them as soon as he should cross into that State. Impatient under the suspension of his advance, he prosecuted the system of administration he had chosen to secure the future submissiveness of South Carolina. This had been marked by peculiarly harsh and barbarous measures, and they were now prosecuted with greater severity. Carolina became for a season a field of wide proscription and confiscation. General orders were issued to all the British posts to hang, summarily, all those taken in arms for the Americans, who had been drafted into the royal militia by the arbitrary proclamations issued after the surrender of Charleston, and to seize on the property of all who submitted at first, but took part with their country on the "invasion" of Gates. At Charleston, Camden, Ninety-Six, Augusta, and other places, multitudes were gibbetted, without compunction, for fighting the battles of their native land. Arrests, sequestrations, transportation, became common expedients, and terror was the instrument by which the loyalty of the State was to be secured. We have already seen the partial effects of such a policy. It created an infinite number of secret enemies, ready to take up arms with tenfold fury, whenever the pressure of superior force should be

removed,—and it stimulated to greater audacity the partizan corps of independent bands of whigs, who roamed throughout the State, beating up the British quarters, harassing their posts, cutting off tories and stragglers, and doing all the mischief in their power to the dominant force. Cornwallis, however, did not estimate these consequences very highly, and being reinforced by the troops under Leslie, late in December resumed his intention of marching to conquer North Carolina.

General Greene had taken up a position with the main body of his little army, on the eastern branch of the Pedee river, nearly opposite Cheraw Hill; and the remainder of his force, under Morgan and Pickens, were stationed at the confluence of Broad and Pacolet rivers. The whole force very little exceeded two thousand men. With these inferior numbers he took the field, at the opening of the year. Unable to cope in regular battle with Cornwallis, he determined to carry on the war of detachments, and harass the British in detail.

Colonel Lee, with his legion, joined him, and was immediately sent to the support of Marion, who, as usual, was engaged in a partizan enterprise against some of the enemy' posts. So rapid were Marion's movements, that it was sometimes difficult even for his friends to find him. Lee and Marion, with their joint forces, surprised Georgetown, and captured Colonel Campbell.

The advance of Cornwallis into North Carolina, in the position of the American forces, would have left Morgan in his rear. To dislodge and disperse that detachment, he accordingly sent Tarleton, with his celebrated legion, amounting to eleven hundred men, and advanced with his main army in a northwesterly direction, between the Catawba and the Broad rivers, to intercept the retreat of the Americans, when they should retire before Tarleton. Leslie moved in a parallel direction, on the eastern side of the Catawba, leaving Greene and his corps on the right, held in check by the garrisons at the British posts. Tarleton's orders were to come up with Morgan, and "push him to the utmost." With his characteristic impetuosity he pressed forward, but Morgan, advised of the superiority of troops, especially cavalry, brought against him, abandoned his post, on the 16th of January, and retired up the country, only a few hours before Tarleton arrived. Tarleton, without

pausing to rest, followed up the pursuit during the night, and early the next morning overtook the Americans at the Cowpens, where they had halted for refreshment and repose. Morgan had determined to risk a battle at once, rather than exhaust his men by the effort to escape from an enemy so remarkable for the celerity of his movements. Making a skilful arrangement of his troops, he waited the charge of the enemy upon ground which afforded Tarleton the free use of his celebrated cavalry. The first line, composed of militia, was directed to check the enemy's advance and fall back. The second line was composed of continental infantry, under Colonel John Eager Howard, and in the rear the regular cavalry and a party of mounted militia were stationed as a corps de reserve, under Colonel Washington. The British cavalry outnumbered the American three to one; the infantry were superior and they had two field pieces.

Jan. 17th, 1781. Confident of an easy victory, Tarleton dashed onward, without allowing his troops time to recover from their fatigue, and not even pausing to form his line carefully. They charged the militia impetuously, with a battalion of infantry, supported by dragoons. These were met by a steady fire. The first line giving way, they pressed rapidly against the second. The resistance here was so obstinate that Tarleton brought up his whole reserve to strike a final blow. Colonel Howard, on this increase of force against him, determined to change his order of battle. His directions being misunderstood, a retreat was commenced, and continued for a short distance. The mistake proved fortunate. Tarleton hurried on in disorderly pursuit, when Howard, rallying the infantry, faced about, and received the pursuers with a deadly and continuous fire, which threw them into confusion. Following this advantage, while the enemy were surprised and wavering, the order was given to charge bayonets. It was obeyed with alacrity, and the day was instantly decided. Colonel Washington, at the same time, charged the enemy's cavalry, and routed them, and a general flight of the British commenced, and was continued without a rally, until the fugitives reached the camp of Cornwallis. The loss of the British was unexampled, considering the numbers engaged. One hundred were killed, two hundred wounded, and five hundred prisoners. The artillery, standards, eight hundred muskets,

and a hundred horses were among the fruits of the victory to the Americans. They lost only twelve killed and about sixty wounded. Morgan displayed extraordinary activity and courage during the day, moving about the field, giving his orders and mingling in the contest, wherever it was hottest. Colonels Howard and Washington exhibited admirable skill and daring, and the masterly movement of the former won the battle. As a military achievement, few events in the revolutionary war were more brilliant than the battle of the Cowpens. In its results it was not less important. It was the turning of the tide of fortune in favor of the Americans, heretofore driven before superior force, and the commencement of that flow of success, which, with few ebbings, soon swept over the South, and drove the enemy out of the country.

The intelligence of Tarleton's defeat disconcerted the plans of Cornwallis. He resolved to intercept the march of Morgan, and compel him to restore his prisoners and trophies. Morgan, who was aware of the necessity of a speedy retreat into Virginia, in order to save himself and secure the fruits of his splendid victory, made all haste to escape. A military race then commenced, of a dubious and exciting character. Morgan and Cornwallis were about equally distant from the fords of the Catawba, in different directions, and the struggle was which should arrive there first. The march of the Americans was excessively toilsome and painful. On the 29th, twelve days after the battle, Morgan arrived at the fords, and had safely crossed them only two hours before the van of the enemy appeared on the opposite banks. It was then too dark to cross that night, and Cornwallis encamped on the banks of the river. During the night a heavy fall of rain raised a swell in the river, and made it impassable for two days. In the interim, Greene, who had ordered his own detachment to retire towards Virginia, and ridden with but two or three attendants a hundred and forty miles, joined Morgan on the 31st.

When the waters of the Catawba subsided, Cornwallis crossed, and the pursuit recommenced. A slight but unsuccessful attempt was made to obstruct his passage. Both armies hurried on to the Yadkin. Greene, this time, was pressed so closely that Cornwallis reached him before the whole of his army had been ferried over. The van of the British engaged a portion of the rear guard | Feb 3d.

of the Americans, and part of the baggage of the retreating army was abandoned. Again Cornwallis encamped with only a river between his army and Greene, expecting to overtake and engage him in the morning. Another fortunate rise in the waters retarded him. The Yadkin was made impassable by the swell, and Cornwallis was compelled to march up the stream to cross at the shallow fords nearer the source. He traversed this circuitous route with great rapidity. Greene, not delaying his course, pushed on to Guilford Court House, where he formed a junction with the remainder of his army, that had retired from the Pedee, under the command of General Huger. The combined forces were still inferior to the army of Cornwallis, and the pursuit was continued. The Americans retreated as rapidly as possible towards Virginia, and so vigorously did Cornwallis force his marches, that a third time he reached the banks of a river just as the rear guard of Greene had crossed safely to the other side. The Americans marched forty miles on the last day of this extraordinary race, and on the 14th of February were securely ferried over the river Dan, into Virginia. Here they were within reach of reinforcements of Virginia militia, and continentals, under Steuben and La Fayette. Cornwallis would venture no further, but, abandoning the chase, turned slowly south, and established himself at Hillsborough. He there occupied himself with encouraging the tories to take up arms, and enrol themselves under the royal standard; but his invitations and proclamations were not so successful as he expected. A considerable number joined him, and many more were well disposed, but confidence in the ascendency of the royal forces was by no means re-established. The successful retreat of Greene, and the bold front he continued to assume with so inferior a force, had a beneficial effect in preventing any large rising of the royalists. The American general, strengthened by a body of Virginians, resolved to take more decided measures for reassuring the republicans and intimidating the tories, and on the 22d of February, boldly recrossed the Dan with his whole army, to assume the offensive. Tarleton, with a corps of four hundred and fifty men, had been despatched into the district of country between the Haw and Deep rivers, to give countenance to the royalists there. Lee, with his legion, and Pickens, with a party of militia, were sent to oppose him

Feb. 14th.

22d.

Three hundred and fifty of the tories met this detachment, and, mistaking them for the British, welcomed them with protestations of loyalty, and cries of "God save the king." They were soon undeceived by a furious attack; between two and three hundred of them were killed, and the rest dispersed. Tarleton was within a mile of the field of action; and instantly began his retreat to Hillsborough. On his march he fell in with another party of tories, going to join the British army, and taking them for republican militia, cut down a number of them before they could explain their true destination. These events discouraged the loyalists, and put an end to the recruiting service of the British army. Many who were ready to enlist, turned back, and irresolution and fear took the place of the ardor which they had at first exhibited, and on the faith of which Cornwallis had calculated upon the speedy conquest of North Carolina.

The indefatigable Greene manœuvred for several weeks within a few miles of Cornwallis, waiting for reinforcements, and harassing the British detachments, without venturing to give battle. For seven days he lay within ten miles of the British camp, and all Cornwallis's skill and enterprise could not obtain intelligence of his movements and position time enough to profit by it. He changed his camp with such celerity and secresy, that every day presented a new front, of which his adversary was unapprised and could not take advantage. At length, being strengthened by two brigades of North Carolina and one of Virginia militia, and about four hundred continental regulars, his numbers were increased to about 4,400, and he no longer avoided an engagement. Cornwallis, although he had less than three thousand troops, confiding in their courage and discipline, readily embraced the opportunity, and the armies met at Guilford, on the morning of the 15th of March.

The Americans waited the attack of the British, drawn up in three lines, about a mile from Guilford Court House. The North Carolina militia were in front, the Virginia militia formed the second line, and the last was composed of the continental regulars, commanded by General Huger and Colonel Williams. The flanks were covered by the cavalry and riflemen. The battle commenced at half past one. At the first fire, the greater part of the North Carolina militia threw down their arms and took to flight. The Virginia militia stood their ground firmly, until out- March 15.

manœuvred by the enemy and charged with bayonets, when they gave way. The whole of the British force, infantry and cavalry, then pressed upon the continental line, and forced them from the field, after an obstinate fight, in which they were nearly surrounded. A general retreat was sounded, and made without disorder. Greene halted at Reedy Fork, about three miles from the field, and, having collected most of the stragglers, retired to the iron works, on Troublesome Creek, about ten miles further. The loss in killed and wounded was about four hundred, of whom three hundred were continentals. The numbers were further dimin ished by the dispersion of the militia, many of whom returned to their homes. Generals Huger and Stevens were wounded. Four pieces of artillery and ten ammunition wagons were lost.

The British loss was larger, compared with their numbers. Their killed and wounded exceeded five hundred, among whom were several valuable officers.

The fruits of the battle of Guilford to the victors on the field, were all the effects of complete defeat. The vanquished were ready to resume the offensive, and the conquerors, after issuing a proclamation, announcing their triumph, and offering pardon to all who should submit to their clemency left part of their wounded in the power of their adversaries, and retired towards Wilmington.

Greene, with unwearied perseverance, followed Cornwallis cautiously, hanging on his rear and harassing his march. Wilmington had been occupied by a British corps, commanded by Major Craig, sent from Charleston, in North Carolina, for the purpose of furnishing supplies to the army. The militia of the State were too active to permit this communication, and the hilly character of the country along the Cape Fear river, assisted them materially. Cornwallis was therefore obliged to retreat to Wilmington, to avail himself of the supplies collected there, and to refresh his army. He reached that place on the seventh of April. Greene followed him only to Deep river, one of the upper branches of the Cape Fear river. After halting there awhile, at Ramony's mills, to give his exhausted troops time for repose, instead of pursuing Cornwallis towards the coast, he took the daring measure of defiling by forced marches, to the right, re-entered South Carolina, and encamped within a short distance of Camden,

April 7th.

where Lord Rawdon was posted, with about nine hundred men. The British troops in South Carolina were scattered in posts and cantonments; the bulk of the army was absent, under Cornwallis; and this movement by Greene, gave the Americans the appearance of being the invaders, while the British march to Wilmington had the air of a retreat. The patriots were reassured, and the spirits of the people rose. During the marchings of both armies in North Carolina, the South Carolinian whigs had not been inactive. Sumpter and Marion, at the head of their gallant followers, kept the field, and made rapid excursions against the British posts, interrupting their convoys, assaulting and harassing their detachments, and keeping their outposts in constant alarm. After Greene's arrival, Lee, with his active legion, co-operated essentially in their partizan expeditions. The force which Greene brought with him, when he adopted the measure of penetrating into South Carolina, was small, and the British were complete masters of the State, occupying a chain of fortified posts, from the eastern to the western extremity of the State. Sumpter had been commissioned to raise a brigade for the regular service, and the aid of the militia was relied upon for the campaign. It was on the 20th of April that Greene arrived in the neighborhood of Camden, and pitched his camp at Log town, within a mile of Lord Rawdon. Before following him in his remarkable career of gallantry, perseverance, and final victory, we must trace the progress of Cornwallis northward. He had kept up a correspondence with General Phillips in Virginia. The general plan of the British campaign in America looked to a junction of the royal forces in the South,—those of Cornwallis from the conquest of the Carolinas, with the army from New York, under Arnold and Phillips, after overrunning and subduing Virginia. From the day of the defeat of the Cowpens, difficulties seemed to grow constantly in the way of the advance of Cornwallis. The Carolina courage revived, and, though no important battle had been won by the republicans, the fortune of war had essentially diminished the confidence of their enemies. On retiring to Wilmington, the proper plan of operations became a serious subject of debate. The return to South Carolina would take him through a barren country, and confine his exertions to a defeat of Greene, and the preservation of South Carolina. Besides, the strong garrisons

April 20.

posted there might be considered able to resist the Americans, until the united British army could be brought to sustain them. It was not, however, by any means certain, when Cornwallis made these calculations, that Greene had resolved to confine his attention to the recovery of South Carolina. It was not unreasonable to expect that he would follow the royal forces into Virginia, and endeavor to co-operate with La Fayette and Steuben. At all events, whatever ground might be lost in the Carolinas could not be great, and the recovery would be easy by a large and victorious army, flushed with the conquest of one of the most powerful States of the Union. The effect of a vigorous blow in such a quarter, on such an extensive field, was looked to as highly important in impressing upon the Americans a sense of the irresistible power of the British arms, rousing the loyalists to united action, and extinguishing the hopes of the republicans by a complete conquest of the South. These considerations prevailed with the council of war and the commander, and it was resolved to march into Virginia, and join General Phillips at Petersburgh. Carolina was left to the fortune of war. The command was entrusted to Lord Rawdon, a young officer of great bravery and merit, the same who afterwards distinguished himself as Earl of Moira, and became celebrated in India as Marquis of Hastings.

After delaying about three weeks at Wilmington, making preparations for the march, Cornwallis led his army near the coast, northward, with very little obstruction from the dispersed inhabitants, and a few light skirmishes with the militia. At Halifax, where he arrived by the shortest route, he captured some American stores, with little loss, and crossing successively the large and rapid rivers that flow into the Roanoke and Albemarle Sound, unopposed, he reached Petersburgh in less than a month. On the 20th he formed a junction with the troops of Phillips, who had died a few days before. This army was subsequently strengthened by a considerable detachment from New York, and at the same time intelligence was received of the sailing of several Irish regiments from Cork, for Charleston The news from Lord Rawdon, at that date, was encouraging, and the prospects of Cornwallis were, in every respect, brilliant. No force in Virginia was competent to resist him. His conquests in Carolina were, to all appearances, secure.

May 20th.

and he commenced his operations sanguine in the expectation of completing his own glory, and accomplishing the designs of his country by extinguishing the American rebellion. The ensuing movements in a few months, by which these prospects were reversed, his army cooped up in a narrow peninsula, and himself and them made captives to an overwhelming force, brought by active and skilful manœuvres against him, close the most important era in the battles of the revolution. The great drama was soon brought to a catastrophe, and the final battle of liberty fought and won against apparently hopeless odds.

On the arrival of Cornwallis in Virginia, the small army to whom its defence was intrusted, consisted of but little more than three thousand men, of whom not one thousand were regulars, the rest were mere militia. The Marquis La Fayette commanded them, and, taught in the school of Washington, he so tempered his natural genius and national ardor of character with caution and circumspection, moved with such celerity and manœuvred with such skill, that he sustained himself and his weak forces with astonishing constancy and success, and baffled superior numbers and discipline, and veteran experience.

Detailed narrative of these important operations must be preceded by the equally brilliant and successful campaign of Greene in South Carolina.

The principal British posts in South Carolina were connected by forts, garrisoned by small detachments, and the communications were kept up by strong patroles of cavalry. When Greene advanced against Camden, the partizan corps were directed to operate against the forts and break up the lines of communication. Weakened by the detachments he had sent on that service, he was not able either to assault or invest the post of Camden. He therefore encamped at a place called Hobkirk's Hill, in the expectation of alluring Lord Rawdon out of his entrenchments, or forcing him, from the interruption of his supplies from below, to venture a battle. The British general was not averse to the encounter, and prudently determined to bring it on at once, before the army of Greene was re-enforced. Sumpter's corps had not arrived, and Lee and Marion were engaged in investing Fort Watson, lower down on the Wateree, towards Charleston. On the 25th of April, Lord Rawdon advanced with his whole force to the attack of Greene's | April 25.

position at Hobkirk's Hill. He hoped to find the American army unprepared, because they had but the day before returned from a position they had taken at Sandhill Creek, to be in a more direct road of communication with Marion and Lee. He found the Americans prepared for him, with numbers somewhat greater than his own. The British were about nine hundred, and the Americans about twelve hundred, of whom more than three hundred were militia. The attack of the British van was sustained by the Maryland and Virginia troops until the army formed, and by degrees the whole line were engaged with the main body of the British. The action was warmly sustained on both sides, and victory inclined to the Americans so strongly, that Greene despatched Colonel Washington with his cavalry to intercept the enemy's retreat. At this critical moment the two right companies, having lost their officers, were thrown into confusion, and fell back against orders. The attempt to rally increased the disorder; the British seized the opportunity and rushed forward; panic seized the whole regiment, and Greene was compelled to order a general retreat. This was effected in good order. He carried off his artillery safely, most of the wounded, and some prisoners. The pursuit of the enemy did not continue far, and the Americans encamped on the next day at Ridgeley's mill, about five miles from Camden. The killed, wounded, and missing, of both sides, were nearly equal in number. The British had, as in the case of the battle of Guilford, the empty honors of victory—their adversaries all the substantial fruits. Rawdon was again shut up, with diminished forces, in Camden; and Greene, with the partizan detachments co-operating with him, watched the passes by which succor and supplies were expected

May 7th. | from Charleston. On the 7th of May, a re-enforcement from the Pedee, commanded by Colonel Watson, reached Lord Rawdon, and he immediately marched out to compel Greene to risk another battle. Here he was foiled again. The American general, confident that the garrison could not maintain their position long without supplies, on the advance of Watson retired from his camp near Camden, and moved to the high hills behind Sawney's Creek. Rawdon, finding his design impracticable, retraced his steps to Camden. The fall of Fort Watson, which had surrendered to Lee and Marion on the twenty-third, and the breaking of his line of communications, reduced him to the necessity of

abandoning Camden. On the 10th of May he destroyed the works, mills, some public buildings, and part of his own baggage, evacuated the fort, and retired with his troops beyond the Santee river. On the day he arrived at Nelson's Ferry, the fort at Motte's surrendered to Sumpter. Besides Motte's and Watson, the other forts invested by the Americans, successively fell. Sumpter took Orangeburgh on the 11th of May; Lee took Granby on the 15th; and, about the same time, Marion took Georgetown. The loss of men in these forts did not exceed eight hundred, but the gain to the Americans was the recovery of the country and the breaking up of the British chain. Lord Rawdon, on receiving the unwelcome news, retired still further, to Eutaw Springs. By this movement he abandoned the upper country to the whigs, and concentrated the British force below the Santee river. The spirit of the country rose, and animated exertions were made by the friends of Independence, and with success, to rouse the inhabitants to co-operate with the American army. May 10th.

As soon as Rawdon evacuated Camden, Greene broke up his camp at Sawney's Creek, and marched to Fort Granby, on the Congaree river, one of the principal southern branches of the Santee. From that place he despatched Lee to join Pickens, in the neighbourhood of Augusta, on the Savannah river; and, after reposing for a few days, marched with his army to reduce the post of Ninety-Six. These were the only important posts left to the British of their line of defence across the whole province. On his way to join Gen. Pickens, Lee, with a part of his legion, made a forced march of seventy-five miles in three days, and captured a quantity of stores, ammunition, and two companies of the garrison, at Silver Bluff, twelve miles below Augusta. Forming a junction with the forces of Pickens on the same day, they proceeded to invest Augusta. The defence was obstinate and skilful. The garrison held out until June, when resistance became useless, and about three hundred of them surrendered. June 5th.

General Greene was not so successful in his own enterprise. He commenced the siege of Ninety-Six on the 22d of May, and broke ground to besiege it in form on the 25th. The place was one of great natural strength, fortified with care, and garrisoned by five hundred and sixty men, commanded by Colonel Cruger. Greene's forces exceeded nine

hundred, and his military works were constructed under the superintendence of the celebrated Pole, Kosciusko. The siege was vigorously pressed; the works had been pushed near to the walls, and, reinforced by Lee on the 8th of June, the besiegers were confident of the speedy surrender of the fort. At this critical period, intelligence was received that Lord Rawdon had been strengthened by the newly arrived regiments from Ireland, and was advancing rapidly to relieve the post. No alternative was left for Greene but to raise the siege at once, or carry the fort by assault. The assault was
June 18th. determined on, and made: but though the assailants behaved with great bravery, and continued the attack under a galling fire against an equally brave defence for a considerable time, they were beaten off, and the whole army raised the siege and retreated before the approach of Rawdon. In this unsuccessful enterprise, three weeks were consumed, and one hundred and eighty-five men lost, out of the diminished American army. The failure was a deep disappointment to the Americans: the fruits of their labors were torn from them in the very moment of victory. The little army was chased by Lord Rawdon, first over the Saluda, and then beyond the Ennoree river. Finding it impossible to overtake them, the British general returned, drew off part of the force from Ninety-Six, made preparations to evacuate it altogether, and established himself for the present on the Congaree. He gave orders for Colonel Cruger to join him there, and sent for reinforcements from Charleston.

The American General was, however, though repulsed and defeated, neither disheartened nor irresolute. Some of his more desponding officers, seeing the accumulating force about to be brought against them, advised a retreat into Virginia. His answer was prompt,—he "would recover South Carolina or perish in the attempt." He learned that Colonel Cruger had been detained at Ninety-Six, and, sending Pickens to watch that detachment, he called in his light troops, summoned the militia under Sumpter and Marion, and, to the astonishment of the British general, within two days of his arrival on the banks of the Congaree, Greene was before him with recruited numbers, ready for battle again. This elasticity of mind, and prompt facility of resources, fitted the American general peculiarly for the contest in which he was engaged. If Rawdon concentrated his

forces, the republican inhabitants rose to aid in reducing his posts and expelling the tories: if he dispersed them they were in danger of being cut off in detail, and Greene always seemed to increase in audacity and determination after defeat. The British general, though flushed with a recent victory, declined the action which was offered him, and shortly after returned to Orangeburgh. The union of the British forces there made them too strong to be assailed, and the main body of the American army retired to the heights, beyond the Santee. The policy adopted here, was the same that had proved so successful at Camden. Partizan expeditions, under active officers, were sent out continually to interrupt the communications between Orangeburgh and Charleston. Sumpter and Marion, and Lee's legion, did excellent service, captured convoys, broke up posts, made prisoners, and harassed detachments with which they were not strong enough to engage.

Lord Rawdon soon after returned to England, and was succeeded in the military command of the province by Colonel Stuart. Before his departure, however, he stained his otherwise gallant reputation with an act of lawless severity and unrelenting cruelty, in the execution, without trial, as a traitor, of a distinguished American officer and gentleman. On the capture of Charleston by Cornwallis, Colonel Isaac Hayne was among those who tendered his parole, and was offered the alternative of going to prison, or becoming a British subject. His family were ill with the small-pox, and needed his tenderest attentions. He accordingly made the requisite declaration of allegiance, stipulating with the British general, and receiving the assurance that he should not be called upon to bear arms in the royal service, and returned to his plantation. In breach of this stipulation he was repeatedly summoned to bear arms, and constantly refused. When the British were driven from the country between the Edisto and Stono Ferry, where his residence was, he considered the inability to protect as a discharge of the obligation to obey, and repaired to the American camp. He was chosen colonel of a regiment, and in an action with the British, was taken prisoner. Without the formality of a trial, he was summarily ordered to execution, on the mere report of a court of inquiry. The petitions of the inhabitants of Charleston, in mass, for his life,—the prayers of children, the remonstrances of many loyalists,

were in vain. The ruthless order was carried into effect. Colonel Hayne was hanged on the 4th of August, displaying, in his last moments, the serenity and fortitude of a martyred patriot.

The odium of this execution fell upon the whole British interest. Tories—and few States had a greater proportion than South Carolina—could not defend it, and it infuriated the whigs. Greene, from his camp on the Santee hills, issued an indignant proclamation, threatening vengeance and retaliation, and the excited feeling stimulated the army to active efforts. Making a circuitous march of seventy miles to cross the Wateree and Congaree rivers, the Americans, strengthened by Pickens, Henderson, and Marion, with their divisions, marched down the south side of the Congaree, towards the enemy. The British retired as Greene approached, and took up a position at Eutaw Springs, forty miles below, and about sixty miles north of Charleston. Here they made a stand, and the battle of Eutaw, by which the war in South Carolina was closed, was fought on the 8th of September.

Sept. 8th. The American army, two thousand strong, advanced early in the morning of that day, to attack the British in their camp. They moved in two lines—the first composed of the North and South Carolina militia, commanded by Marion and Pickens, and the second, of the regulars, commanded by General Sumner and Colonels Campbell and Williams. Lee, with his legion and the South Carolina State troops, covered the flanks, and Washington, with his cavalry, was a corps of reserve. The enemy received them in two lines, drawn up obliquely across the road, on the heights, and well defended by artillery. The Americans continued to fire and advance with intrepidity, against the discharge of the artillery, until the contending ranks met, almost hand to hand. Both sides fought firmly and resolutely. The order given by Williams and Campbell to the American regulars to charge with trailed arms, was promptly obeyed, and the attack bore down all before them. Lee, with his cavalry, turned the left flank, and Washington fell fiercely upon the right. The British line was broken and the new troops among them fled precipitately. The veteran corps received the assailants firmly, and an obstinate and most bloody struggle was maintained for some time, hand to hand, till, overpowered, the whole British force was

driven off the field. The Americans pursued hotly, and took five hundred prisoners. The battle appeared completely won, when the English regulars took post in a large brick house, and a picketted garden. Some of them rallied in some thick shrubbery. In these advantageous positions they made a resolute defence, and all efforts to dislodge them, even with the aid of six pieces of artillery, were in vain. The cavalry were repulsed at all points in their attempts to penetrate the garden and the wood, and Colonel Washington was wounded and taken prisoner. The fire from the house produced a dreadful carnage. The rest of the English had time to rally and advance, upon which General Greene, unwilling to repeat the desperate attack upon the posts thus firmly defended, drew off his army, and retired to the ground he had occupied in the morning. He carried with him his wounded and the prisoners. The British remained on the field, but, on the next evening, withdrew to Monk's Corner.

This battle was one of the most sanguinary fought during the Revolutionary war, considering the numbers engaged. On both sides, the most resolute valor was displayed. The ranks were for some time mingled together, and the officers fought hand to hand. The American loss was five hundred and fourteen killed, wounded, and missing; the British reported theirs at six hundred and ninety-three. General Greene estimated it much higher. Colonel Stuart, in retreating, left a thousand stand of arms upon the field.

The battle of Eutaw Springs closed the Revolutionary war in South Carolina. The British, after delaying awhile, retired to Charleston, abandoning the state to the mastery of the republicans, without further effort, except a few ravaging and plundering expeditions, which only injured individual property. Greene established posts to keep the enemy in check, and thenceforth the power of Great Britain was not acknowledged beyond Charleston Neck. Congress passed the highest encomiums upon the general and army who had won the battle of Eutaw, and, as a most fitting token of the estimate they placed on the genius and services of Greene, presented him, in the name of the nation, with one of the captured standards, and a gold medal struck in honor of the victory.

The conduct and issue of the campaign, of which that victory was the consummation, are justly esteemed among

the most brilliant in the military history of the war. The American general entered the State with a beaten, dispirited, and almost destitute army, and he found the country in the possession of a superior force, entrenched in a strong chain of well garrisoned and fortified posts. He broke through them,—captured them in detail, drove the detachments, one by one, before him, and, though several times foiled and repulsed in the field, found such resources in the energy of his character and the fertility of his genius, that he was always formidable when defeated, and persevered till he closed the campaign, by cooping up the enemy in a single city, and restoring three States to the American Union. Savannah and Charleston were the only foothold left to the British, who had, in April, been masters of Georgia and South Carolina, and held North Carolina at their mercy. Well did Nathaniel Greene, the Rhode Island blacksmith, merit the title which he received of the Liberator of the South.

Virginia, in the mean time, was the theatre of important operations, all tending to the final issue of the war. Cornwallis, on his junction with the army of Phillips at Petersburg, on the 20th of May, subsequently strengthened from New York, commenced offensive operations to subdue Virginia. La Fayette, with his little army, was posted beyond the James river. Baron Steuben had not been able to join him, and the reinforcements, under Wayne, composed of the Pennsylvania militia, were not arrived. As Cornwallis advanced, La Fayette could do no more than watch him at a careful distance. Neither the celerity of movements, nor the military artifices of the British general, could draw the wary Frenchman into a battle with such odds. By a series of masterly manœuvres, he disappointed all the efforts of Cornwallis to intercept him, and formed a junction with General Wayne at Raccoon Ford. In the interim, two detachments were sent out by the enemy against important places in possession of the Americans,—one under Colonel Simcoe, to seize a quantity of stores, which were at Point of Fork, at the confluence of Rivanna and Flavanna rivers, guarded by Baron Steuben, with four to five hundred new levies,—and the other under Tarleton, to Charlotteville, to capture the governor and legislature of the State. Both succeeded in part. Steuben carried off his men and part of his stores in safety, the rest fell into the hands of the enemy

Tarleton reached Charlotteville with such despatch, that Governor Jefferson escaped with some difficulty. Several members of the House of Delegates were made prisoners, and stores to a considerable amount were destroyed. In these expeditions, all the stores and tobacco on the route were also destroyed; the granaries of private individuals were included in the general devastation, and immense quantities of private property laid waste.

The American stores deposited at Richmond had been removed for safety to Albemarle Court House. By the delays incident to the junction of La Fayette with Wayne, Cornwallis had been enabled to get nearer to this depot than the American army. Both armies were anxious to push towards this point, and Cornwallis was sanguine in the belief that he should be able to intercept La Fayette, on the road by which the latter must march to reach Albemarle. He accordingly held back the detachments designed for the expedition, and waited for the Americans at Jefferson's plantation. La Fayette had the address to escape the toils. In the night he caused an old road, that had fallen into disuse, to be opened and cleared, and, on the next day, June the 18th, to the mortification of Cornwallis, the Americans were strongly interposed between him and the Court House. Unable to advance, he fell back upon Richmond. La Fayette followed him guardedly, and, having been reinforced by Baron Steuben and his levies, Colonel Clarke, with his riflemen, and the militia of the neighborhood, he made a show of inclination to give battle. Cornwallis took no advantage of the offer, but, after delaying a few days at Richmond, retired again towards the coast with his whole army, continuing, as he went, to destroy indiscriminately public and private property. More than two thousand hogsheads of tobacco alone were burnt in this march. He entered Williamsburg on the 25th June. There he remained until the 4th July; on that day, having received orders to take a position by which he could reinforce the Commander-in-chief at New York, then apprehending an attack upon that city by the combined forces of Washington and Rochambeau, he broke up his camp at Williamsburg and retired towards Portsmouth. Nothing but light skirmishings between the armies occurred at Williamsburg. On the march to Portsmouth, a smart action took place at the James river. La Fayette thought the main body of the enemy had crossed the river, and ad-

vanced to attack the rearguard. He unexpectedly found himself engaged with the main body, and was obliged to draw off his men from the unequal contest with some loss. The river was crossed safely on the 9th, but, on examination, Portsmouth was pronounced not to be a proper station for the joint force, and, by the advice of engineers, Yorktown and Gloucester Point were selected as the best positions. After destroying the works at Portsmouth the whole British army moved to those stations, on the 23d of August, and Cornwallis applied himself to fortify them in the strongest manner. His immediate haste to reach the coast had been caused by an order from Sir Henry Clinton to send three thousand of his troops to New York,—an order which was countermanded on his arrival there, an equal number of German troops having arrived in the mean time from Europe, to strengthen the army of Clinton. The army of Cornwallis, on entering Yorktown, consisted of from eight to nine thousand, principally veteran troops.

July 8th.

Aug. 23d.

On intelligence of this disposition of the British force, La Fayette took post in the county of New Kent.

The adverse armies, so unequal in number and equipments, remained in this position for some weeks. In that interval military combinations were brought to bear together, by which the scale was made to predominate on the other side. Skill and fortune happily timed the arrival of the French fleet from the West Indies, the junction with it of the French fleet from Newport, and the successful issue of the manœuvres of Washington to deceive Clinton and prevent him from succoring Cornwallis, or obstructing the march of the American army from the Hudson to Virginia, so as to concentrate resistless armaments by sea and land at this point, and surround and capture this powerful and flourishing army.

These combinations were directed by the genius of Washington. The campaign in the North had originally been aimed at New York. All the military operations of Washington and Rochambeau tended to that point. The possession of the city was a great prize, for which the American general was willing to risk much. The despatches brought from France by the Count de Barras, who had been appointed to succeed De Ternay as admiral, gave intelligence of the sailing of the Count de Grasse, with a large French squadron, destined, after performing a certain service in the

West Indies, to proceed to America to co-operate with Washington. This determined the plan of operations. De Grasse was expected in the month of August. The allied generals, in a conference held at Wethersfield, agreed to lay siege to New York, in concert with the expected fleet. A junction was accordingly formed early in the month of July, between the troops of Washington, and the French troops from Newport. The Americans marched down from their encampment at Peekskill, and united with the French under Rochambeau, at Dobbs' Ferry. The Commander-in-chief proceeded to prepare for active operations, which he hoped to commence by the middle of July, or the first of August. But the tardiness of the recruiting service again arrested his movements, and other obstacles intervened. The garrison of Clinton, reinforced by the late arrivals from Europe, counted ten thousand men, while the Americans did not exceed five thousand regulars, with about an equal number of militia, upon whom little reliance could be placed in a siege. The French troops and fleet made the numbers up to a very respectable force, but by no means such as could make the event certain. The chief reliance was on the assistance of Count de Grasse, and his immense armament, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line, and three thousand soldiers. About the middle of August intelligence was received that De Grasse had sailed from the West Indies, and that his destination was the Chesapeake. An entire change of plan was the result, and the whole skill and energy of the Commander-in-chief were exercised in directing the movements of the several distinct and different armaments, so as to concentrate them at once against Yorktown, where Cornwallis was encamped; and at the same time so to mask his designs as to prevent Sir Henry Clinton from uniting his forces with those of Cornwallis. His plans were wisely taken and ably executed. Circumstances beyond the control of any calculations favored the enterprise, and distant bodies of men and squadrons, separated thousands of miles, moved with the precision of a chessboard.

The show of making an attack upon New York was still kept up by labored demonstrations in various quarters. Reports of the expected arrival of De Grasse to besiege the city were industriously spread. Letters confirming this were written to be intercepted. The British works were

reconnoitred constantly, and plans taken even under the fire of batteries by the American engineers. Some of the French troops were advanced to the opposite side of Staten Island, as though to communicate with and aid the besieging ships. Batteries were established, and other preparations of a permanent kind made, so as to impress Clinton with the conviction that a joint and general attack was to be made upon the city. Having thus completely baffled the sagacity of the British commander-in-chief, Washington waited anxiously for the time at which he computed De Grasse would reach the Chesapeake. He then left his camp, and turning sud-

Aug. 19th. denly South, crossed the Croton and the Hudson, and pushed on rapidly through New Jersey, when he paused for further intelligence of the fleet. The report had been carefully encouraged that this movement was but a feint to draw the British into the open field, and, still deceived, Clinton lost the opportunity of arresting or molesting the progress of the allied army. Washington, receiving intelligence of the near approach of De Grasse, no longer hesitated, but crossing the Delaware pushed on with rapidity

Aug. 25th. through Pennsylvania, and reached the Elk river, at the head of the Chesapeake, on the 25th of August. As soon as the bewildered English general was persuaded of the real purpose of this march, instead of promptly reinforcing Cornwallis, he thought to recall the Americans, or profit by their absence, by striking a blow at the defenceless coast of Connecticut. Arnold was placed at the head of this marauding detachment, a fit instrument for such deeds of violence and rapine. When Cornwallis took command of the combined troops at Petersburg, in May, Arnold had obtained leave to return to New York, and now seized the opportunity of heading a plundering expedition into his native state. New London was the point aimed at. It was taken, sacked, and pillaged. The defences consisted of a fort on the Groton side, garrisoned by Lieutenant-colonel Ledyard, and one hundred and sixty men. The party which assaulted this fort was commanded by an officer named Eyre. The garrison was overpowered after an obstinate resistance, in which Eyre and his second in command were killed. Ledyard finally surrendered his sword to Major Bromfield, who instantly plunged it in the heart of the prisoner, and the bloody example was followed so mercilessly, that nearly every man of the garrison was butchered. The *Groton*

Massacre is another horrible stain on the British arms, and was fitly perpetrated under the lead of Arnold. He ravaged and laid waste the town in the spirit of a fiend, and returned to New York, loaded with curses and imprecations from a plundered and outraged community of his own early relations and friends.

This barbarous inroad did not serve the purpose of Clinton in checking the southern advance of Washington, or prevailing on him to weaken his troops by detaching any part of them to the defence of Connecticut. Without delay the allied armies pushed forward to Virginia, cheered by the intelligence that the Count de Grass had entered the Chesapeake with his squadron; and blocking up the mouth of the bay and the York and James rivers, had effectually cut off all communication with New York. Three thousand French troops, commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon, were landed from the fleet, and joined La Fayette in his camp, then at Williamsburg. By this reinforcement the danger of a sudden attack upon him by the superior force of Cornwallis, was happily removed. The American Commander-in-chief, with the French general Rochambeau, having provided for the transportation of the army down the Chesapeake, pushed on in person, and reached Williamsburg on the fourteenth of September. The plan of operation was immediately settled at an interview on board the French flag ship, the Ville de Paris. The whole body of French and American troops united at Williamsburg on the twenty-fifth of September, where they were joined by a detachment of Virginia militia, commanded by Governor Nelson. A few days of repose were allowed, when the siege of Yorktown was commenced.

Aug. 28th.

Sept. 14.

Sept. 25.

The other branches of the American plan of action, succeeded not less perfectly, and with equal fortune. The French fleet at Newport had been also ordered to rendezvous at the mouth of the Chesapeake, and join that of De Grasse. Count de Barras accordingly sailed with five ships of the line, and numerous transports, laden with arms, ammunition, and implements for the siege, in which the army before Yorktown was deficient. But danger was in the way of Barras. Admiral Graves, with a much superior British force, was at New York, and Admiral Rodney, informed of the movements of De Grasse, but not believing that the

whole French fleet would accompany him, had sent Sir Samuel Hood, with fourteen line of battle ships, to the American coast. Hood arrived at the Capes of Virginia before de Grasse, and finding no enemy there, pursued his way to New York, and joined Admiral Graves, who, as senior officer, took command, and sailed to intercept de Barras, and engage de Grasse. On the twenty-fourth of September he came in sight of the French squadron, at anchor in the Chesapeake, and though inferior in the number of ships, offered them battle. The French admiral slipped his cables and stood out to sea. His policy was to employ the British fleet, in manœuvring for battle, without coming to a decisive action, until the convoy of De Barras could safely enter. The scheme succeeded. A partial battle took place, and, for four or five days, the two fleets were in sight of each other; the French gradually withdrawing from the coast, but avoiding a general engagement. Meanwhile, De Barras, who had stood far off to sea, and made a wide circuit to avoid the British fleet, passed safely into the bay, and De Grasse, having achieved his object, knowing that delay was fatal to the British, and, acting upon the plan of caution urged upon him by Washington, returned to the Chesapeake and re-anchored in his former position. Admiral Graves found the French fleet too strong to be attacked, and, his own damaged in the action: he accordingly returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis to his fate. The transports thus fortunately brought into the Chesapeake, were employed in bringing down the army of Washington from the Elk, and the artillery and tools which they brough were all important in the prosecution of the siege.

Sept. 24.

The grand combination of fleets and armies in the Chesapeake was thus complete. The joint land forces amounted to about seventeen thousand men, of whom thirteen thousand were regulars. The fleet was composed of twenty-nine sail of line of battle ships. There was no hope of escape for Cornwallis but in speedy succor from New York, and he pressed for it urgently, at the same time that he prepared to hold out as long as possible. He had chosen his position on the south side of York river, and strongly fortified it, as well as Gloucester Point, on the opposite side of the river. Armed ships on the river, and batteries on the shore, defended the communications between their posts. The works at Yorktown, consisting of a range redoubts and field-works,

were guarded by the main body of the army. Tarleton with about six hundred men occupied Gloucester.

Every preparation being made, the allied armies moved down on the 28th of September to invest Yorktown. They drove in the British piquets and patroles, and encamped on the grounds assigned to them. On the north side of the river, the investiture of Gloucester Point was placed under the direction of the French General Choisiè, with the French legion, under the Duke de Lauzun and General Weedon's brigade of militia. Sept. 28.

On the evening of the next day, Cornwallis committed what by military men has been considered the capital error, of withdrawing his men from the outposts, and retiring within the fortifications of the town. His reasons for this act met with opposition among his own officers, and certainly were based upon a too sanguine reliance on the promises of Clinton. On the 29th, intelligence was brought him, that the fleet at New York had been strengthened by the arrival of Admiral Digby from England, with several ships of the line, and also by a ship and frigates from Rodney, in the West Indies. He was assured that a squadron of twenty-three ships of the line, with five thousand men, would sail to his relief from New York, by the fifth of October. These assurances prevailed upon him to husband his own strength by not attempting to defend his outworks in detail. He thus narrowed the space of action for his troops, and limited most materially the time upon which he might calculate to protract the siege. He put his fate upon the literal compliance of Clinton with these assurances within the period assigned. On his withdrawal the allies advanced, and occupied the ground he had abandoned. No attempt was made, as the British general had desired, to carry the place by assault. A fortunate defence might have saved him. The allies were resolved to risk nothing; the great prize was secure within their hands, and they wisely abstained from trusting any thing to the chance of battle, their enemy's only hope. They proceeded with their works in regular form. Their artillery and stores were brought up, and on the night of the sixth of October they broke ground, within a few hundred yards of the British lines, without serious obstruction. The besieged labored hard to strengthen their own works, and their artillery was actively plied. The batteries were Sept. 30. Oct. 6th.

Oct. 10th. opened from the lines of the besiegers on the ninth and tenth of October, and kept up a brisk and continued fire upon the town. Some of their shells passed into the harbour, and a frigate of 44 guns and a transport ship were burnt.

On the tenth, tidings were received from Clinton, which redoubled the anxieties of Cornwallis. The sailing of the promised succors had been unavoidably postponed to the 12th. Doubts were intimated, whether from unforseen casualties, they might not be even later in setting out. Clinton inquired further whether the besieged could not hold out till the middle of November, in which case he would make a diversion in their favour by land, and march to Philadelphia. This disheartening message destroyed the hopes of the beleagured army. Some of Cornwallis's officers renewed the advice given at the commencement of the siege, that he should cross to Gloucester Point; and, keeping a check against pursuit by a strong rear guard, force his way to Philadelphia. This was a desperate proposal, and was declined. Cornwallis retained a feeble lingering expectation that his commander at New York would still be able to send him succors, and resolved to defend himself to the last.

The allied forces continued to advance their works with indefatigable industry. In carrying on their second parallel, it became necessary to reduce two of the redoubts, advanced on the left of the British, which annoyed the working parties. To excite a national emulation, the attack of one was en-

Oct. 14th. trusted to an American detachment, commanded by La Fayette, and of the other to a French detachment, commanded by the Baron de Viomenel. Both of the redoubts were gallantly carried at the point of the bayonet; and immediately included within the American parallel. No effort was made to retake them.

The British general perceived that the completion of this parallel would make instant destruction to his remaining works, inevitable. To retard it, he projected a sortie in the evening of the 15th. A detachment, commanded by Colonel

Oct. 15th. Abercrombie, penetrated into the American lines, captured two redoubts, and spiked a number of cannon. They were repulsed and driven in by the Viscount de Noailles, and the cannon restored to service. The next day the batteries were finished and mounted. Nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were brought to bear on

the British works with such effect, that the walls were shattered, the ditches filled with the ruins, the fortifications dismounted, and the whole town made so utterly defenceless as not to be able to show a gun in defence. This incessant and terrible cannonading left Cornwallis no alternative but immediate submission or escape. Hopeless as was the latter effort, he determined to risk it; and on the night of the 16th, commenced crossing to Gloucester Point, with the design of pushing at once against General Choisie, siezing his stores and horses, and while the body of the American army was detained south of the river by the want of boats to cross, pressing into the interior, aiming for Philadelphia and New York. One part of his army had been ferried over on this bold and desperate plan, when a violent storm arose, dispersed his boats and prostrated his last hope. The surrender of the post became inevitable, particularly as morning disclosed several new batteries which had been opened from the American lines. Submitting to necessity, he asked a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours. Two hours were granted for the purpose of receiving the proposals, on which the besieged were willing to capitulate; and those being such as to satisfy Washington of the speedy settlement of the terms, the truce was continued. On the next day, Viscount de Noailles, and Colonel Laurens, on the part of the allies, and Colonel Dundas and Major Ross, on the part of Cornwallis, adjusted the articles, to be submitted to the Commanding Generals. Washington transmitted them to Cornwallis on the morning of the 19th, with a letter expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven o'clock, and the garrison be delivered by two P. M. All the efforts of the British General to obtain terms for the American loyalists failed. Washington referred their fate exclusively to the civil authorities. The request that the captured soldiers might be returned to Europe on their parole, not to serve in America during the war, was also declined, because it would leave them at liberty to serve in garrisons at home. The most that was yielded on that point was, that Cornwallis might dispatch a sloop of war, the Bonetta, to New York, without search, carrying such persons as he should designate, he being accountable for the vessel as a prize, and the number of persons as prisoners of war. Many of the Tories who were most obnoxious to popular resentment, availed them-

Oct. 16th.

Oct. 17th.

Oct. 18th.

selves of this opportunity. The capitulation was accordingly signed, and at the time appointed, the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester were surrendered to the army of Washington, and the shipping in the harbour to the fleet of De Grasse. The same formalities were observed in the surrender of the troops as had been prescribed by Cornwallis to Lincoln, on the surrender of Charleston. To make the parallel more close, Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission. Cornwallis avoided the embarrassing interview by constituting General O'Hara his representative.

Oct. 19th.

The number of prisoners, exclusive of seamen, was 7,073, of whom 3,000 were unfit for duty—sick, or wounded. The British loss during the siege in killed, wounded, and missing, was reported at 553: of the Allies about 300. A large quantity of cannon, chiefly brass, fell into the hands of the Americans; two frigates and twenty transports, with their crews, into the hands of the French.

On the same day that Cornwallis surrendered, Sir Henry Clinton sailed from New York with a large armament of land and sea forces; the former of which amounted to 7,000 men, and arrived before the Chesapeake on the 24th. The succour came too late, and he immediately returned to New York.

The victorious Allies separated soon after the surrender. De Grasse was under orders from his government to return to the West Indies. Count Rochambeau and his troops were cantoned in Virginia. The Pennsylvania and Maryland brigades were put under the command of General St. Clair, and dispatched to the south to the army of Greene, and the remainder of the American force, commanded by General Lincoln, returned to New York, and resumed their position in the Highlands of the Hudson. Washington repaired to Philadelphia.

The victory over Cornwallis was in effect the conclusion of the war. It prostrated the British power upon the continent, and recovered the whole country to the Union. Thenceforth the enemy was confined to a few posts on the coast, the cities of New York, Charleston, and Savannah, and reduced to merely defensive measures. Their hold on the States was for ever gone. Hostilities were protracted languidly through another season; but the capture of a second British army, of such magnitude, and under a general of so much ability and reputation, confirmed the Independence of

the States beyond further dispute, and annihilated every British hope of regaining the colonies by war.

The victory was therefore hailed with great rejoicings and triumphal celebrations, from one end of the continent to the other. On the day after the capitulation, General Washington ordered all those who were under arrest to be pardoned and set at liberty; and announced the performance of divine service on the 21st, in the different brigades and divisions, recommending that "all the troops do assist at it with serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart which the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour, claims." Congress, on receiving the official intelligence, went in procession "to return thanks to Almighty God for the signal success of the American arms," and appointed the 13th of December as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer.

Thanks were solemnly voted to the General-in-chief, the Commanders of the French fleet and army, and to the Allies generally. It was resolved to erect a marble column at Yorktown, bearing appropriate emblems of the allied powers, and the victory. Two stands of colours were presented to Washington, and two field pieces to Rochambeau.

From the states, cities, corporate bodies, and various public institutions, affectionate congratulatory addresses were presented in great numbers to the illustrious Commander-in-chief.

La Fayette, soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, obtained leave to return to his native country. Coming to America in her deepest adversity, and having borne a conspicuous part in her trials and reverses, he left her, finally, after a victory in which he shared some of the highest honours, and which secured the liberties of his adopted country beyond the power of her enemies. His zeal for the cause of American Independence, his eminent services in the field and in the cabinet, received, at the time, warm acknowledgments from Congress and a grateful people; and have made him, through a long life of usefulness and glory in another hemisphere, the object of enthusiastic admiration and affection, to their descendants through three generations.

Thus closed in triumph the year 1781. It opened in gloom, and terminated under brightened auspices: such as gave assurance of returning peace, and renewed promises of the blessings of established institutions and well regulated

liberty, wealth and increase, order and law, of which the Independence that was now won was to be the fruitful parent.

The prosecution of these advantages at home and abroad, so as to assume a proper attitude in the domestic preparations for defence, and to give dignity and efficiency to the relations of the United States with foreign nations, occupied the immediate attention of Congress and the Commander-in-chief. The negotiations in Europe, soon manifested the general conviction of all the continental courts of the firm establishment of American sovereignty. Great Britain yielded her pretensions reluctantly at first, but policy soon taught her the usefulness of making her concessions as prompt and liberal as possible. A condensed view of the dispositions of the European belligerents to each other, and of each towards America, will show against what intrigues and diplomatic subtleties, the American negotiators contended successfully, to secure the fruits of the victory of Yorktown.

CHAPTER XV.

THE war between Great Britain and her ancient colonies, had now continued for six years; and, in its progress, enemy after enemy had been added to the combination against her, until she might be said to be contending with the open or secret hostility of all Europe. Her fleets and armies were making successful head against France, Spain, and Holland, while a more extensive confederacy of all the maritime States, except Portugal, were under the countenance of the formidable Empress of Russia, prepared to attack her naval superiority with their joint fleets. These hostile demonstrations were all subsequent to the American Revolution, and had their origin in that momentous event. It was not that revolutionary governments had found real favour in the eyes of these nations, or that any real sympathy was felt, beyond the bosoms of a few gallant individuals, for the oppressions or principles of the colonies. It was that the occasion was favourable for weakening the power of Britain, which, since the peace of 1763, had been the object of universal dread and jealousy. France and Spain, in particular, besides the ancient hostility of the House of Bourbon to England, and their national dislike of the English, had lost by the preceding wars, a vast extent of territory, and numerous valuable islands. Pride and interest had been deeply wounded. The immense fleets of Britain rode triumphantly, and, it may be added, with offensive arrogance in every sea, and gave her commerce a superiority which provoked the secret dislike of every maritime power. Until the rupture with the colonies, so unwisely aggravated by the weak, and at the same time overbearing, policy of the ministry, the power of Britain was universally conceded; and though the object of suspicion and dread, met with no serious or concerted hostility. Nothing but opportunity, however, was necessary to develope the secret anxiety of her ancient rivals and enemies, to check her aspiring ambition, and diminish her overshadowing superiority. That opportunity was afforded by the civil dissensions between her and her American provinces; a portion of her empire regarded with particular

interest, not only from its intrinsic value as a great and growing country, but from its peculiar situation with regard to the possessions of other nations, especially the French and Spanish dependencies. The progress of the rupture was watched with the keenest anxiety, but with an evident desire to cripple the power of England, as much as possible, with as little encouragement to the principles and views of the Americans as was compatible with this leading purpose. It has been seen, in the course of this narrative, that state policy retarded all public expressions of favour to the American cause, even in France, the most zealous and interested rival of England, until they became necessary to her own particular views. Two years of obstinate warfare, amidst sufferings and reverses of most disastrous omen, had not obtained for the Americans the countenance of the French government, until the capture of Burgoyne, on the one hand, and the altered tone of the British ministry on the other, displayed two alternatives as to the issue of the conflict, either of which would have baffled the wishes of France. A reconciliation with the parent country on terms of liberal compromise, or the achievement of independence, without French succor, would have placed the Americans entirely out of the reach of French influence. The result was the alliance of February, 1778, and the French war against England. The private views of France were postponed to the emergency of the crisis, but immediately renewed. Spain was made the agent for putting forward the same pretensions, as the price of her alliance, which had been advanced by France in her negotiations. Independence, which had been fully recognised by the French, was to be reduced in all other foreign recognitions, and made as little valuable as possible to the Americans, by limiting their territory within the narrowest possible limits. The proffered mediation of the Spanish Court, in 1779, disclosed a concert of action on these points, between the two courts. Their intrigues to deprive the United States of the Eastern Fisheries, and the Western Territory, so as "to coop us up," in the language of Franklin, "within the Alleghanies," were prosecuted with pertinacity, and only foiled in the end by the steady firmness and sagacity of the American negotiators. The refusal of Congress to make these sacrifices was so displeasing to the Spanish Court, that they declined acceding to the treaties between France and the United States; and, though waging war against Great

Britain, in common with the Allies, neither acknowledged the independence of the States, nor furnished them aid. On the contrary, when applied to by Mr. Jay for assistance in discharging the bills drawn upon him by Congress, they demanded as a condition the acknowledgment of these claims. Upon these selfish views they insisted to the last, and stubbornly refused to acknowledge the New States, except at a cost to which they would in no event consent.

As the other European nations joined in the general confederacy against Britain, the same disposition to limit the extent and power of the United States was constantly manifested. The armed neutrality of 1780, was followed by another proffer of mediation between the belligerents. The Empress of Russia, the head of that coalition, offered herself as the mediatrix, and the Emperor of Germany was associated in the mediation. The offer was accepted by the belligerents in Europe, and Vienna appointed for the meeting of the Congress. The views of France were communicated to Congress in May, 1781, by the Chevalier de la Luzerne; and his communications manifested the continued eagerness of his court to have entire control of these American questions. The result of his representations to Congress had an important bearing on the final negotiations of peace at Paris, in 1782, to be related hereafter. The mediation failed, because of the refusal of Great Britain to admit of the representation of the United States at the Congress, in any other character than that of revolted subjects; in which opinion the imperial courts sided with the British cabinet. The Marquis De Verac, French Minister at Petersburgh, made known the determination of the courts to Francis Dana, the American Envoy at Petersburgh, in September, 1781. "The mediating powers understand," said he, "that your deputies shall treat simply with the British ministers, as they have already treated in America with the Commissioners of Great Britain, in 1778—that the conclusion of their negotiations shall teach the other powers upon what footing they are to be regarded, and that their public character shall be acknowledged without difficulty, from the moment when the English themselves shall no longer oppose it."

The appointment of Mr. Dana to Petersburgh, had given displeasure to the Empress, who declined receiving or recognizing him. Mr. Adams, to whom the principal share in these negotiations had been committed, peremptorily insisted,

from the first, upon a preliminary admission of American independence, by the Congress, and as peremptorily refused to appear there in any other character than as the Minister of a free and sovereign people. Thus terminated, in 1781, this second European mediation. All parties except France, who was committed by her treaties, insisted on treating the Americans as lawful colonies of Great Britain, depending on her consent for their admission into the rank of independent nations.

The Dutch, though by their commercial pursuits and their form of government, most disposed to form connexions with America, were, if not equally reluctant, not more prompt in their co-operation than the Spaniards. War was proclaimed by Great Britain against Holland, on the 20th of December, 1780. Mr. Adams, who, on the capture of Mr. Laurens, had proceeded to Holland, to complete the pending negotiations, was unable, for a long time, to obtain a decisive answer. In April, 1781, he drew up a memorial to the States General, representing the condition and views of the American States, and the high inducements which existed for forming a political connexion between them and the Provinces of Holland. This memorial the States General declined receiving in an official manner, but the substance was communicated to the Provinces for decision. No answer was returned. Mr. Adams repeated his application in August, and at the suggestion of the French minister, proposed a triple alliance between France, Holland, and the United States, all then at war with England, of which the acknowledgment of the independence of the States by Holland was to be a preliminary condition; and one of the articles was to be a joint stipulation not to lay down arms until it should be also acknowledged by Great Britain. The States General were still unprepared for this step, and their hesitation continued during the whole year. Not until the favourable change in America, by the campaign of 1781, the victories of Greene, and the capture of Cornwallis, was known in Europe, and the movements of party in England manifested an admission of the hopelessness of recovering America, did even the Dutch add their public recognition of the American Independence to that of France.

Such was the relation of the American States to their associates in the war, at the period of the surrender of Yorktown. One month before, Great Britain had haughtily re-

fused to allow of any interference by other powers between her and her "rebel subjects." That pretension had been admitted by all the European powers, not at open war with her, and was heartily discountenanced by none, except France. In the condition of their affairs, it was undoubtedly believed, that while they could not be conquered, nor persuaded to return to a connexion with Great Britain, they would be content with a limited territory and such a quasi independence as the Swiss cantons enjoyed. The great point of dismembering the British Empire being gained, each of her rivals looked to securing his peculiar share of the spoils. The imposing position which the triumph at Yorktown enabled the Americans to assume, changed this aspect essentially. We shall shortly see, that with the prospect of peace which immediately followed, the acuteness of the American diplomatists enabled them to foil the intrigues of their allies, while the successes of their arms by bringing the British to terms, enabled them to use for their own benefit, the same national rivalries which had influenced the policy of the Bourbons. English jealousies of France and Spain were successfully employed to prevent any aggrandisement of these powers, at the expense of the new States. These important changes in the relative position of the belligerent parties, followed soon after the victory at Yorktown. The immediate effects upon the British, by which their subsequent policy was shaped, were the weakening of the ministry of Lord North, its final overthrow, and the formation of a new administration upon the avowed principle of hostility to any further prosecution of the American war.

A new parliament was opened on the 27th of November just after the intelligence of the defeat and capture of Cornwallis had been received in London. The King's Speech showed no symptom of faltering in the determination to carry on hostilities for the recovery of America; and the "unfortunate" fate of the "army in Virginia" was announced as giving additional proof of the necessity for "a further vigorous, animated, and united exertion." The plan of opposition was not yet settled in the new House, and the customary vote of thanks was adopted. The downfall of the ministry was, however, nigh; and the first attack was made on the 12th of December. A motion, introduced by Sir James Lowther, proposing to declare that "the war in North America had been hitherto ineffectual to the purposes for

which it was undertaken, and that perseverance would be unavailing and also injurious to the country, by weakening her power to resist her ancient and confederated enemies," was lost by a vote of 220 to 179, showing a considerable defection in the ministerial ranks. In the course of the debate, the Prime Minister announced that it was no longer in the contemplation of government to prosecute the war internally in America, but to concentrate the forces in a few ports to assist the operations of the fleets. The debate was renewed with acrimony several days afterwards, on the discussion of the military estimates. General Conway, Mr. Fox, Burke, and Wm. Pitt, the second son of the late Earl of Chatham, distinguished themselves by the force of their language in denouncing the ministerial course towards America. The opposition daily gained strength, and during the recess of the holidays, a general plan of attack upon the administration was arranged. These efforts were now seconded by addresses and petitions from the city of London, and other important places. Before the struggle was recommenced, the American Secretary, Lord George Germaine, resigned his office, and was created a peer, by the title of Viscount Sackville. He was succeeded by Welbore Ellis, Esq., and it was further determined to send out Sir Guy Carleton, to supersede Sir Henry Clinton as Commander-in-chief in America.

Jan. 23d. On the 23d January, Fox opened the concerted assault upon the administration, with a long and able speech, reviewing the whole management of the war, and concluding with a motion for censuring the official conduct of Earl Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty. On this grave question the ministry found themselves, in a full house, in a majority of only twenty-two votes—205 noes to 183 ayes, for the vote of censure on Lord Sandwich. The gradual falling off of the ministerial majorities, encouraged the opposition to more direct efforts to put an end to the war, and defeat Lord North upon that question. On the

Feb. 22d. 22d of February, General Conway brought forward a motion to obtain the sense of Parliament on an address to his majesty "that the war might be no longer pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the people of America by force." Ministers resisted the motion with all their strength, and on the decision found themselves in a majority of *one* vote—194 noes to 193 ayes. There was no longer

any doubt of the fate of the administration: but the king's obstinacy required to be overcome by a distinct legislative expression of the popular wish. Accordingly, on the 27th of February, General Conway renewed his motion in a more explicit form, declaring that it was the opinion of the House of Commons, that "the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies by force, would be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, and tend, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity, so fatal to the interests of Great Britain and America, and by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, to prostrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquility." Feb. 27th.

This motion, which virtually put an end to the war, was carried against the ministry by a majority of nineteen—234 ayes to 215 noes: and it was farther resolved that the House should go in a body to present an address to his majesty to this effect. It was noted as an offensive circumstance, that when the House were admitted to offer this address to the throne, Benedict Arnold, the American traitor, stood at the right hand of the king. Lord Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, complained in Parliament of this indignity, as one that was "an insult to the House, and deserved its censure."

The king's answer to the address was vague and unsatisfactory. His reluctance to yield any thing to the opposition was still manifest. He did not allude to the direct expression of the sense of the House against the war, but expressed, in general terms, his determination to take such measures as should appear to him "conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both."

The exulting Whigs were not content with this evasive answer. They accordingly persevered in asking for stronger pledges; and on the 4th of March, on motion of General Conway, it was resolved, without a division, that 'This House will consider as enemies to his majesty and the country all those who should advise a prosecution of offensive war on the Continent of North America." On the same day the appointment of Carleton to supersede Clinton in command, took effect. March 4.

Two such successive votes against the policy kept up by the ministry for eight years, were expected to compel their instant resignation. To the astonishment of the country, they still held on. The opposition determined to test the House directly, on a vote for a general censure of ministers. This was brought forward by motion made by Lord John

March 8. | Cavendish, on the 8th of March. The debate lasted until two in the morning. The ministerial party rallied and defeated this direct vote of censure, by a majority of ten, and adjourned the House to the 15th. The interval was occupied in efforts to divide the opposition, and form a mixed Cabinet, all of which failed. On the 15th, the Whigs returned to the attack. The motion was renewed,

March 15. | declaring that the House had "no further confidence in the ministers who had the direction of public affairs," which was again lost by a majority of nine votes—227 ayes and 236 noes. On the announcement of this division, notice was given that the same motion would be renewed on the 20th; and as many of those who voted in the majority, were known to have done so from the uncertainty as to the new cabinet, rather than from preference to that of Lord North, the fate of the administration was considered as sealed. So they understood it themselves:

March 20. | and when, on the 20th, the Earl of Surrey rose in a very crowded house to make the promised motion, Lord North interrupted him by announcing that the ministry was dissolved, and only held place until the king should have selected their successors.

Thus terminated the administration of Lord North, during which the affairs of Great Britain had declined from a height of unexampled prosperity to almost inextricable confusion. It had been marked by a series of political disasters and blunders, which deprived the country of its richest foreign possessions; and accumulated a load of debt and taxation, beneath which the nation groaned heavily.

The Whigs, who had been for eight years contending against the American war, came immediately into power. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the new administration, with the pledge to put an end to the war, at all events—even at the price of acknowledging American Independence. Lord Chancellor Thurlow alone, of the old administration, was permitted to retain his place. The early and leading advocates of America were taken into

the cabinet. Lord John Cavendish was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; Fox and the Earl of Shelburne, Secretaries of State; Lord Camden, President of the Council; the Duke of Grafton, Lord Privy Seal; Burke, Paymaster, and General Conway placed at the head of the army. This ministry, during its brief existence, laboured zealously to conclude peace. Overtures were at first made separately to the belligerents, to induce them to treat separately. This had been also the favourite policy of Lord North, with a view of dividing the strength of the adversaries of Britain. After the surrender of Cornwallis, Mr. Hartley had been sent to Paris, to confer with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, on a *projet* for treating separately from France; and at the same time, an agent was commissioned to sound the French minister upon a proposal to treat, independent of the Americans. This emissary was Mr. Forth, Secretary to Lord Stormont, recently British minister to France. Dr. Franklin states that the offers to the French were large: France was to retain all her conquests in the West Indies; to reserve some peculiar advantages in the East Indies, and the British right of keeping a Commissary at Dunkirk was to be abandoned. It was further understood, that the restoration of Canada to the French would be acceded to, if required as an ultimatum. The ministers of both nations declined these proposals, as irreconcilable with their mutual engagements. The fall of the North administration, and the pacific principles upon which its successor was formed, renewed these efforts to separate the allies.

Sir Guy Carleton, the new Commander-in-chief, arrived in New York on the 5th, and announced that he and Admiral Digby, the naval Commander-in-chief, were appointed Commissioners by the new ministry to treat upon terms of peace with the United States. He communicated to General Washington the vote in Parliament abandoning the war, and the pendency of measures authorizing the king to conclude a peace or truce with the "*revolted provinces*" in North America. He requested a passport for his Secretary to proceed to Congress as a bearer of these dispatches. Congress, before whom General Washington laid these papers, declined to negotiate without their allies, and refused the passport. This closed the efforts of the Commissioners in America, until they announced to General Washington, on the 2d of August, that the Rockingham ministry had deter-

mined in cabinet council to "offer America unlimited, unconditional independence," as the basis of a negotiation for peace—that Mr. Grenville had been commissioned for that purpose to treat with all parties in a general negotiation, which had been agreed upon to be opened at Paris.

This policy was adopted in the cabinet by the influence of the Marquis of Rockingham and his friends. The succeeding ministry, of which the Earl of Shelburne was the chief, acquiesced reluctantly, and the king was at all times exceedingly averse to it.

Ministers soon after their appointment, about the same time that they sent Sir Guy Carleton to America, dispatched Mr. Richard Oswald to France, to confer with the diplomatic agents of the allied powers. It was found impracticable to separate them, and on the 18th of April, Mr. Oswald returned to London with a report of his mission. The British cabinet thereupon assented to a general negotiation, which assent was conveyed to Paris on the 4th of May, and Mr. Grenville soon after arrived there with a commission to treat with the king of France, and "any other prince or state whom it might concern." He informed Dr. Franklin explicitly, that he was authorized to admit the Independence of the United States as a preliminary act.

American Independence was formally acknowledged by Holland on the 19th of April; and on the 22d Mr. Adams was received in the quality of "Ambassador from the United States of North America to their high mightinesses." Negotiations with Holland for treaties of commerce detained Mr. Adams in Holland, so that he was unable to take part in the important affairs at Paris, until the month of October.

All parties had now consented to abandon the prosecution of the war, and the essential article of American Independence was agreed upon, when the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, which took place on the 1st of July, broke up the English cabinet, and embarrassed the progress of the negotiations. The Earl of Shelburne became Prime Minister, and the Rockingham part of the cabinet, headed by Mr. Fox and Lord John Cavendish, seceded,—upon the ground that the principles of the late Prime Minister in respect to American Independence, were abandoned. Lord Shelburne took early occasion to declare, in his place in Parliament, his continued repugnance to the acknowledgment of Independence. The difficulties which this

July 1st, 1782.

declaration created in the conferences at Paris, produced much delay in the conclusion of the Treaty. Mr. Grenville was recalled from Paris, and Mr. Fitzherbert, the British envoy at Brussels, was transferred to Paris, with a full commission to treat with France, Spain, and Holland. With him Mr. Oswald was associated, and information transmitted to him, that a commission was about to be issued to him, "to treat, consult, and conclude" with the Commissioners of "the American colonies or plantations, or with any body or bodies, corporate or politic, or any assembly or assemblies or descriptions of men whatsoever, a peace or truce with the said colonies or plantations, or any part or parts of them." The style of this commission, sufficiently indicates the altered disposition of the British Cabinet, and the lingering hope entertained that some arrangement might be made short of Independence. The inducements to Great Britain for receding from this position, are intimately connected with the relations between the Americans and their European allies. July 20th.

The basis of the proposed negotiation was admitted by all parties to be the treaty of 1763. The rights of France, Spain, Great Britain, and America, under that treaty, and from the events of the existing war, to the territory west of the Alleghanies, to the navigation of the Mississippi, and to the eastern fisheries, were a keen subject of controversy between the new States and their allies. Connected with the controversy is the history of the diplomatic measures of the American Congress in respect to the terms of peace to be offered to Great Britain, the powers to be granted to their commissioners in Europe, and the extent of the influence to be allowed to the French king, in directing the negotiation. The nature of the designs of the Bourbon powers on the subject of the West, has been already explained. The train of intrigues by which they succeeded in fettering the American commissioners at Paris, so that France claimed the right of being sole arbiter of the terms, and endeavored to model them to suit her individual profit, and that of Spain, requires a more particular notice.

The proffered mediation of the king of Spain, between the three belligerents, in 1779, produced the first discussion and settlement of the terms of peace, upon which Congress were willing to treat. France then interfered through M. Gerard, to lower their claims to Independence, and place them in

the same relation as Geneva and the Swiss Cantons, and to procure a formal abandonment of the territorial and other contested questions, for the purpose of securing the Spanish alliance. Congress, at that time, were firm, and gave their minister instructions to insist upon the full acknowledgment of the United States as sovereign, free, and independent, as a preliminary article, and upon the Mississippi as the western boundary. The fisheries were not made an ultimatum to the treaty, but Congress passed a separate declaratory resolution, affirming the right of the United States to the fisheries, and defining any attempt of the British to molest them in that right, to be cause of war. The general direction to the minister, in all other matters, was, to govern himself by the alliance with France, the "*advice*" of the Allies, and his "*own discretion.*"

These instructions did not meet the views of France. Spain, though she went to war with England, held back from the American alliance. The new French minister, Luzerne, in January of the next year, brought up the subject again, and obtained a conference with a Committee of Congress, to represent "certain articles" which the Spanish king had represented to the French king as of "great importance to the interests of his crown, and upon which it was highly necessary that the United States should explain themselves with precision, and such moderation as might consist with their essential rights." It was demanded that the United States should expressly define their boundary, which was to extend no further than the settlements were permitted by the proclamation of the British king, dated in October, 1763, the same which had been considered a grievance by the Colonists in that day; that their right to navigate the Mississippi should be renounced as untenable: and the right of Spain acknowledged to hold the Floridas, if she conquered them, and the lands on the east of the Mississippi, to the limits defined in the British proclamation above mentioned, as territory belonging to Great Britain, and not included within the States. This declaration made it evident, that France and Spain were anxious to annex to the Spanish territories, not only the Floridas on the south, but the whole of the immense country watered by streams running from the north and east into the Mississippi. Congress could not be brought to assent to these pretensions; but the effect of the communications is to be seen in a further modification of their instructions t

Mr. Jay, at Madrid, directing him not to insist upon an express acknowledgment of the right of navigating the Mississippi: but, at the same time, not to relinquish it formally. No direct answer was given to the French minister on these points. A committee of Congress drew up an argumentative statement of their right to the western lands, for the direction of their envoys in Europe. The statement was from the pen of Mr. Madison, and bears date October 17th, 1780. The modified instructions to Mr. Jay were adopted in January, 1781.

In the month of May following, the proffered mediation of the Empress of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany, between the belligerents, was announced to Congress by the French minister. The terms of peace and the powers of the Commissioners again became important points for decision; and Count Luzerne again pressed for the abandonment of the claims of the United States on the contested questions. A Committee of Conference with him was appointed by Congress, and the result of their interviews shewed that, with the exception of the single question of Independence, the court of France required to have exclusive control of the negotiations. The principal point urged by him was, the propriety of perfect and open confidence in the French ministers, and a thorough reliance on the king. He made strong complaints of the conduct of Mr. Adams, the plenipotentiary, and asked, explicitly, that a strict line of conduct should be drawn for that minister, "of which he might not be allowed to lose sight." The instructions which he desired Congress to give Mr. Adams were, "to take no step without the approbation of his majesty," and "to receive his *directions* from the Count de Vergennes, or from the person who might be charged with the negotiation in the name of the king." This demand was so comprehensive, that it was hardly deemed necessary to discuss the contested points. He simply endeavoured, in general terms, to impress upon the Committee the "necessity" Congress were under of securing the "benevolence and good will of the mediating powers," by presenting their demands with the "greatest moderation and reserve."

This communication, essentially so arrogant, was not received by Congress with perfect complaisance. They refused, in the first instance, to appoint any additional commissioners as had been urged, and voted to continue Mr. Adams in the

management of the negotiation. They abandoned, however, all the *ultimata* of previous instructions, except that of Independence, and inserted in the new instructions a direction to their minister to make "the most candid and confidential communications on all subjects" to the French ministers; and "to undertake nothing in the negotiations of peace without their knowledge or concurrence."

In communicating these proceedings to the French minister, it was found that his views were not yet answered. An unlimited discretion in the American envoy, guided by French councils, was not sufficient. The sturdy independence of Mr. Adams was still to be feared. The French court required a full control in all points except that of sovereignty, and more accommodating associates.

The result of the conference of M. Luzerne, with the committee, was the insertion into Mr. Adams' instructions of a peremptory clause, after the direction to do nothing without the knowledge or concurrence of the French ministers, in the following words: "*and ultimately to govern yourselves by their advice and opinion.*" Every thing was now surrendered into the hands of the French; and, to complete the concessions, a commission, consisting of John Jay, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jefferson, and Henry Laurens, were associated with Mr. Adams, as plenipotentiaries for negociating a treaty of peace. The final adoption of these measures was on the 15th of June, 1781.

The imperial mediation failed, and the high stand assumed by Mr. Adams, on the occasion, confirmed the distrust with which the French ministers had regarded him. They had, however, gained their point, in being constituted exclusive managers of the negotiation. They were, however, as the issue proved, disappointed in their expectations of benefit from the change of agents. The commissioners were not less unbending than Mr. Adams, in their patriotism; and finding themselves embarrassed by the toils in which Congress had been drawn by these intrigues, boldly broke through them.

We are now prepared for a history of their immediate efforts, when the arms of America and France had, by the victory at Yorktown, revolutionized the English cabinet, and brought Great Britain to the offer of a negotiation, in 1782. In the spring of that year, the fortune of the war between Great Britain and her European allies, preponderated

in her favour. Admiral Rodney, in the famous battle of the 12th of April, in the West Indies, won a great naval victory over the fleet of De Grasse, in which the French fleet suffered prodigious loss, and the admiral was made prisoner. The successful defence of Gibraltar was not less glorious and profitable to the English in Europe. This variety of fortune placed the American interests on higher ground, in the proposed treaty. England was placed in such a situation, as to entitle her to refuse any advantages to her European antagonists, and it was made her manifest interest, to sustain American pretensions to territory in preference to those of France and Spain.

These were the dispositions of the parties when, in July 1782, the commissioners assembled at Paris to settle the terms of a general peace. The Count de Vergennes, acted on behalf of France, Count de Aranda, for Spain, Mr. Fitzherbert between Great Britain and her European enemies, and Mr. Oswald between her and the Americans; Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay, the latter of whom had just arrived from Madrid, represented the United States. Mr. Lauren did not arrive until the business was completed, and Mr Adams was engaged until late in October, in settling a treaty with Holland. The long protracted negotiations with Spain were trsnsferred to Paris at the same time.

The American commissioners soon found they had a most difficult task before them, embarrassed, as they were, by the instructions of Congress, placing them totally in the power of the French, and surrounded by intrigues for sacrificing the dignity and interests of their country, to the ambition of their own allies. Mr. Oswald's commission was, for some time, a means of arresting all proceedings. The American States were styled "colonies, or plantations," and the powers of the commission implied them to be still in a state of dependence on Great Britain. Mr. Jay denied the sufficiency of these powers, and insisted peremptorily on an explicit recognition of the Independence of the United States, before he would consent to treat. Dr. Franklin, at first, was willing to treat, waiving the point as a matter of form, but acquiesced, finally, in the judgment of his colleague. All the negotiations were suspended, on this point. The French minister favored the British view of the question, and urged Mr. Jay to proceed, without demanding to be held as the envoy of sovereign in fact, before the conclusion of the treaty. Mr. Jay was

unyielding, and a discovery which he made, that the French court had interfered directly with the British commissioners, with advice unfavorable to the extent of the American demands, strengthened his suspicions of the selfish purposes of the allies, and his determination not to descend from the ground of perfect independence. The Count de Vergennes gave such information of the wishes of his court to Mr. Fitzherbert, on this point, as to produce a pledge from the British cabinet, in a new instruction to Mr. Oswald, of the intention to grant to America, "full, complete, and unconditional Independence by article of treaty." These dispatches were shown to the American ministers, as containing all that they could desire, on the subject of Independence. But they thought otherwise; and the agency of the French, in retarding the immediate acknowledgment of Independence, confirmed the fears produced by their movements made contemporaneously in another quarter. It was clearly the policy of France, in order to avail herself of the control vested in her over the terms of peace, that Independence should be a subject of negotiation, and the recognition of it by treaty one of the considerations, for which the coveted western lands should be made the price. If Great Britain abandoned, formally, in the act of treating, all right over her former colonies, the essential object of the war would be gained, and French and Spanish interests would lose their strongest claims for concession. While the pride and prejudices of the British cabinet were enlisted on one side, to postpone the admission of American Independence, the interval was sedulously employed in pushing the Spanish pretensions to the western lands; first in conferences between Mr. Jay and the Count de Aranda, and subsequently by informal communications from M. de Rayneval, the Secretary of the French minister, to the American minister. In these interviews it became evident to Mr. Jay, that the French and Spanish courts united in opinion, that the western limits of the United States ought to be agreed upon as preliminary to a negotiation for peace; that these limits should not reach beyond the head of the streams that empty into the Mississippi from the east; that the fate of the lands without these limits, was to be determined between them and Great Britain to the exclusion of the United States; and that in regard to the fisheries, the United States should be limited to coast fisheries. Several boundaries were pro-

posed, but that most liberal to the States, called by M. de Rayneval, the *conciliatory line*, would have left one half of the present state of Tennessee, nearly all Mississippi and Alabama, and all the land north of the Ohio, including the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, without the limits of the United States.

With Count de Aranda, as with Oswald, Mr. Jay refused to negotiate without an exchange of commissions, with sufficient powers, and in consequence, these conferences were informal. The rights of the United States were resolutely maintained by the American minister, and he refused to treat, on all occasions, except on terms of perfect equality, and for the undiminished claims of his country. His firmness having foiled every expectation of concession from the Americans on these points preliminary to negotiation, M. de Rayneval was dispatched on a secret mission to England, to confer with the British cabinet. The object of this journey was believed to be, to inform Lord Shelburne, that France was satisfied with the offer of Britain to make American Independence contingent on the completion of the treaty,—to make overtures concerning a division of the fisheries between the two kingdoms, to the exclusion of the Americans, and to secure for Spain the western lands, and the exclusive western navigation, in return for leaving Great Britain the whole of the territory north of the Ohio.

To counteract these machinations, now became, in the judgment of Mr. Jay, indispensable to the interests of the United States. The essential point was to deprive the French of their influence over the question of Independence, by obtaining a spontaneous recognition from Great Britain. He declined acting with Mr. Oswald under his new instructions, and represented to him the policy of making the United States perfectly independent of France. He drew up his objections in writing, which were acquiesced in by Dr. Franklin, and communicated informally to the British commissioner. When M. de Rayneval's mission to England was made known, Mr. Jay took upon himself the responsibility of sending a secret agent directly to the English minister. The purport of his mission was to explain the position assumed by the Americans on the subject of Independence, and their resolution never to abandon it; and to represent the selfish policy which the two Bourbon courts were pursuing, and which it was the interest of Great

Britain, as well as the United States, to defeat. This prompt measure effected the object. A few days brought a dispatch to Mr. Oswald, announcing that the cabinet had "at once agreed to make the alteration in the commission proposed by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay." On the 27th of September, a

Sept. 27. | new commission was received, authorizing the British negotiator to treat with commissioners on the part of the Thirteen "UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA."

The American negotiators were thus placed in an advantageous position with respect to all parties, as the plenipotentiaries of sovereigns in fact, and released from all dependence on the French court in this most essential point. They resolved to prosecute their negotiations in the same temper, and being satisfied that the views of the French court were adverse to American interests, they agreed to disregard the instructions of Congress, and proceed to settle the terms of peace without communication with the French ministers. Mr. Adams completed a treaty with Holland, and joined the other commissioners on the 23d of October. Approving of all they had done, in respect to the terms of peace, and in relation to the French court, he joined in the negotiation, which was brought to a close on the 30th of November. On

Nov. 30. | that day, *a provisional treaty* was signed by both the parties, to take effect whenever peace should be concluded between France and Great Britain. When all was agreed upon, the treaty was communicated to the Count de Vergennes. His dissatisfaction was distinctly expressed to Dr. Franklin, and the tone of his comments manifested very distinctly the disappointment of his court at being thus excluded from the benefit of controlling the terms of the treaty. The American commissioners, fortunately possessed sagacity and firmness enough to consult the interests of their own country, fearlessly, and encounter every responsibility to secure her just rights, as well against intrigues as against intimidation.

By this treaty, the king of England acknowledged, in terms, what had been admitted in the act of treating, the liberty, sovereignty, and independence of the thirteen United States, who were named successively. On the subject of boundaries the amplest concessions were made, including within the limits of the United States, the vast territory north of the Ohio to the middle of the great lakes, and

reaching to the Mississippi. The Americans were also secured in the *right* of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all other places where the two nations had been accustomed to carry on fishing before the rupture; and they were to have *liberty* to fish on the coast of Newfoundland. The British commissioners labored anxiously for the introduction of a clause for the indemnification of the American loyalists, and the restoration of forfeited estates; but the most that could be obtained was an agreement that Congress should recommend to the States the adoption of such measures; Dr. Franklin, at the same time, frankly told Mr. Oswald that there was no ground for expecting that the States would comply. He sarcastically suggested a counter article of agreement, that the British king should recommend to parliament to make compensation to the American Whigs, for the property, houses, stores, ships and cargoes, towns, villages, and farms, destroyed and plundered by his soldiers in America.

These provisional articles being agreed upon, the disputes between Great Britain and the United States were at an end, but the war, nevertheless, was nominally continued. The terms of peace between the other belligerent powers, were not yet adjusted, and the Americans were bound to wait the event of the French negotiations.

These negotiations were retarded by the violent opposition made in the British parliament to the course of the ministry in directing them. A coalition between the leading members of the late Rockingham cabinet, headed by Mr. Fox, and Lord North's party, assailed the Earl of Shelburne with such success as finally to drive him from power, and establish themselves in office. During the excited debates, which ended in this triumph, it was determined, as the sense of the house, that the votes against the ministry, for concluding peace on terms so disadvantageous, were not designed to express any intention to renew the war, or to recede from the provisional articles. The abandonment of the American tories was especially reprobated, and parliament voted to redeem the national faith, by making suitable provision for them out of the British treasury. While parliament censured the minister for the extent of his concessions, they considered themselves bound to adhere to the treaty, including preliminary articles which were in progress, and had been agreed upon with France.

Jan. 20. 1783. These preliminaries were finally signed on the 20th January 1783, at Paris, by Mr. Fitzherbert, on the part of Great Britain, and Count de Vergennes, as the French minister plenipotentiary.

The definitive treaties were not officially signed and ratified, until the completion of the Spanish treaty with England. The plenipotentiaries, however, agreed upon a suspension of arms. This was communicated to Congress on the 24th March, by a letter from General Lafayette, and orders were instantly issued for recalling American privateers, and arresting all hostile operations. A proclamation was issued on the 11th of April, in the name of "the United States of America in Congress assembled," declaring this

April 19. cessation of arms; and on the 19th of April, the *eighth* anniversary of the battle of Lexington, in which the first blood of the revolution had been shed, peace was proclaimed in the American army.

The independence of the United States was acknowledged by Sweden, on the 5th of February; by Denmark on the 25th of February; by Spain on the 24th of March; and by Russia in July. Treaties of amity and commerce were severally concluded with these powers.

The definitive treaty of peace, was finally signed at Paris

Sept. 3d. on the 3d day of September, by *David Hartley*, who had been appointed to succeed Mr. Oswald on the change of ministry, for Great Britain, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, on the part of the United States. At the same time definitive treaties were signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, with those of France, Spain, and Holland, respectively, and a general peace was re-established among all the belligerents.

While these negotiations were carried on abroad to such a triumphant result, the military operations of the hostile troops in the States were few, and finally by common consent, the war settled down into entire inaction, even before the proclamation for a cessation of arms, on the conclusion of the preliminary treaty.

In the southern department of the United States, General Greene, at the close of the year 1781, occupied the hills beyond the Santee, from which he descended to keep in check the British, who occupied Charleston city. In January 1782, he was joined by the brigades, under St. Clair, sent from the army at Yorktown, and took post on the Edisto

river, about fifty miles from the city. The condition of his army there was very deplorable. Their distresses from want of pay, provisions, and clothing, rose to such a height, that a mutiny, in the Pennsylvania line, broke out, and was only quelled by force and the execution of the ringleader. These difficulties kept the army from undertaking any active measures, during the summer, in South Carolina.

Savannah was still in possession of the British, in considerable force, commanded by General Clarke. General Wayne, with a part of the American army, was detached into Georgia, to operate against that post. On the 19th of May, he encountered and defeated a party of the British, sent out to cover the advance of some Indian allies, and drove them with loss into the city. A few weeks afterwards, he defeated the Indian succors, marching from the Creek nation into Savannah. These skirmishes closed the war in Georgia. The British immediately afterwards determined upon evacuating Savannah. The merchants made terms with General Wayne for the protection of their property, and the security of those who might desire to adhere to the British. The garrison embarked on the 11th of July, and General Wayne occupied the city on the same day. July 11th.

After the recovery of Savannah, General Wayne joined General Greene, with his force, and the joint army moved towards Charleston. The British army were by their orders confined to defensive operations entirely, and were preparing to evacuate the city. Unhappily, in the correspondence between the commanding generals on the subject of purchasing supplies for the British, differences arose, and parties continued to be sent out to seize on them by force. In one of these excursions, a smart skirmish occurred at Page's Point, on the 27th of August, in which Colonel Laurens, a popular and distinguished officer, was mortally wounded. This was the last bloodshed in South Carolina. The intention of the British to abandon the State was publicly announced, but the preparations went on slowly. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, within the city, to settle terms for protecting the rights of property, and a convention settled for the purpose, which was little observed by the enemy. At length the embarkation of the troops was commenced, and on the 14th of December Dec. 14.

was completed. On the same day, the civil authorities re-occupied the city, and resumed their functions.

On that day, therefore, after a distressing invasion of about three years, the war in the South terminated.

At the north, no engagement occurred after the battle of Yorktown. That success, the prospects of a speedy peace which it held forth, the movements in Europe, especially in England, consequent upon it, and the pacific overtures of Sir Guy Carleton, who arrived in the spring to supersede Clinton as commander-in-chief, had the effect of suspending all active operations in both armies. But the difficulties of Congress and the Commander-in-chief increased alarmingly. Victory had the customary effect of relaxing the efforts of the States, and the expectation of peace enforced an immediate attention to the condition of public affairs, and the means of complying with public engagements, and providing for heavy arrearages to the army and in the civil service. These new and urgent claims were advanced with increasing discontent, now that the pressure of foreign danger was thought to be removed, and the attention of all classes, more especially the soldiers, became turned to the future. At the same time, so entirely had the means of the treasury failed, from a deficiency in the rates of taxation and the mode of collection, that Congress depended for some time on a monthly grant, from France, of 500,000 *livres*, for defraying the current expenses. This sum was insufficient, and only the financial expedients of Robert Morris, with the aid of the Bank of North America, by anticipating the taxes, enabled them to keep up the public service.

Neither officers nor men had received any pay for a considerable time; their support with the necessaries of existence was hardly provided for, and, in the midst of present want, they received intimation that Congress was about to reduce the army, and in September that determination was publicly made known. A more just ground for discontent and alarm to the army, could not well be imagined, and fears were entertained that open mutiny would be the consequence. The reduction of the establishment would throw a large part of them out of the service, without compensation for the past, or substantial provision for the future. Most of them had spent the flower of their lives, and many of them their own private fortunes, in sustaining the cause of Independence, and all were now about to be turned out to

penury, without even the means to carry them home, and with no prospect of future subsistence. This, after all their sufferings and services, their trials and sacrifices, and the glorious result which they had achieved for an ungrateful country, as they with justice complained, could not but exasperate their minds, and sting them into violent complaints: it threatened to drive them into acts of insubordination and outrage. In September, Washington wrote to the secretary at war, a new officer, appointed a few months before "I wish not to heighten the shades of the picture, so far as real life would justify me in doing, or I would give anecdotes of patriotism and distress, which have scarcely ever been paralleled, never surpassed in the history of mankind. But you may rely upon it, the patience and long-suffering of this army are almost exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant."

The alarm of the soldiery, from the dilatory and unsatisfactory proceedings of Congress in their behalf, was further aggravated by the belief that it was not the design to fulfil the terms of the resolution of October 1780, granting the officers half pay for life. A party opposition to this measure existed in congress, no funds were pledged for complying with it, and the adoption of the confederation, requiring the assent of nine States to appropriations, made its confirmation uncertain. They thought they saw an insidious attempt to disband them, by means of furloughs, without redressing any of their grievances; and as the prospects of peace brightened, their resentment increased. In December, they remonstrated more vehemently with the Commander-in-chief, by whose personal interposition and exhortations their forbearance so long had been preserved, and adopted an energetic memorial to Congress, praying for an early adjustment of their claims, the payment of their arrearages, and a sum in commutation of their half pay under the resolution of October 1780.

Congress was now placed in a position of extreme embarrassment; with an exhausted treasury, and an army almost in mutiny, demanding what was justly due, but which there were no means within reach to supply. The winter was passed in this distracted condition. Congress could give no hope of final settlement satisfactory to the army; Washington alone, by the exertion of his unbounded popularity, restrained them from breaking out into violence. The

news of the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace, in the spring, brought affairs to a crisis of excitement and danger.

March 10, 1783. On the 10th of March 1783, an anonymous call was circulated through the army, inviting a meeting of officers for the next day, to take into consideration the unfavorable accounts from Philadelphia, and "what measures, if any, should be adopted to obtain that redress of grievances which they seemed to have solicited in vain." On the same day, an anonymous address to the officers was circulated, drawn up with spirit, power of language and passion, and admirably calculated to inflame them to violent measures. The author, as afterwards ascertained, was Major John Armstrong.

What might have been the result of a meeting, summoned under such circumstances of real wrong and deep suffering, by appeals so inflammatory, it is impossible to conjecture. Washington, with a firmness and prudence, well tempered to the emergency, threw himself forward, to still the rising tempest. Issuing a general order, he expressed his marked disapprobation of these disorderly proceedings, and the irregular call for the meeting, and summoned the general and field officers, and a representation from the companies and staff to meet on Saturday, the 15th, to hear the report from Philadelphia, to adopt further measures, and report to the Commander-in-chief. The head-quarters were then at Newburgh, on the Hudson river.

The meeting took place, as directed, and General Gates, as senior officer, assumed the chair. Washington delivered them a long and patriotic address, upon their condition and prospects, urging them to longer forbearance, to a trust in the good faith and justice of their country, and reprobating the language and designs of the anonymous addresses. His dignified expostulations produced the happiest effect. The weight of his personal character, the general veneration for his integrity, and admiration for his services, enforced the appeal which he pressed upon them, in behalf of good order, patience, and fidelity to the laws.

A series of resolutions were unanimously adopted, declaring the designs of the anonymous addresses to be "infamous," re-approving their determination, that "no circumstances of distress or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory which they had acquired at the price of their blood and eight years faithful

services;" and expressing "unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress, and their country," and that "the representatives of America would not disband nor disperse the army until their accounts are liquidated, their balances accurately ascertained, and adequate funds established for their payment."

These noble and magnanimous proceedings elevate the character of the revolutionary army even beyond the lustre of their military triumphs. A victory over want, over privation, over resentment and the sense of wrong, all stimulated by the consciousness of power, won by the simple force of patriotic principle, is an example of public virtue, of which military annals has no equal in dignity and true glory.

Their self-denial was not long after rewarded by such provision as the utmost means of Congress enabled them to raise. A vote of nine States, the requisite number under the Articles, was obtained for a commutation of the half pay, for five years full pay, and the treasury, by great efforts, found them four months full pay in part discharge of arrearages. Thus the machinations of incendiaries were foiled, and the army proved itself as worthy of the highest admiration for civil virtues, as of the highest gratitude for military services. The slight disorders which occasionally took place among portions of the troops, when about to be disbanded, were not of magnitude sufficient, to detract from this well merited reputation. In June a few of the Pennsylvania corps mutinied, and were joined by about two hundred from the Southern army. They surrounded the State House in Philadelphia, and clamored for pay, but without proceeding to actual violence. They were easily dispersed.

On the 17th of August, the British commander-in-chief informed the President of Congress that he had received his final orders for withdrawing his majesty's forces from New York. Congress soon after issued general orders that such of the soldiers as had enlisted during the war, should be discharged one the 3d of November ensuing.

The British army and fleet evacuated New York, their last remaining possession in America, on the 25th of November, and on the same day, General Washington, with Governor Clinton, and their respective suites, followed by a prodigious concourse of citizens, entered the city in triumph. On the 4th of December, General Washington took an affecting farewell of his officers, and departed

Nov. 25th.

for the purpose of resigning his commission into the hands of Congress, then in session at Annapolis in Maryland.

On the 13th, the treaty of peace was received, and formally ratified by Congress.

The last scene now approached: on the 19th the Commander-in-chief reached Annapolis, and the 23d was fixed for receiving the public resignation of his commission. On that day, in the presence of the representatives of the States, and a large concourse of civil and military officers, foreign agents and citizens, he delivered his commission into the hands of the President of Congress, with a simple and affecting address, which, after congratulating the country on the successful termination of the war, and recommending the officers and the army to the justice of Congress, he concluded by bidding them an affectionate farewell.

The highest testimonies of popular love and admiration followed him into retirement; and his return to the domestic shades of Mount Vernon, accompanied by the blessings and plaudits of millions whom he had guided to liberty and safety, was the closing scene of the war of the American Revolution

THE END.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Preamble.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Legislature.

SECTION I.

1. All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall

have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three; *Massachusetts* eight; *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations* one; *Connecticut* five; *New York* six; *New Jersey* four; *Pennsylvania* eight; *Delaware* one; *Maryland* six; *Virginia* ten; *North Carolina* five; *South Carolina* five; and *Georgia* three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill up such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years, and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expition of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in case of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SECTION IV.

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rule of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than

three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objection at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have

been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary, (except a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post offices and post roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court:

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square,) as may, by cession of particular states and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings: and,

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importations, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex-post-facto law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.

1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the nett produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Executive.

SECTION I.

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such a majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case after the choice of the President, the person having the

greatest number of votes of the electors shall be Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.

SECTION II.

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing

of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present, concur: and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

1. He shall, from time to time, give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

1. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Judiciary.

SECTION I.

1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may, from time to time order and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states; and between a state, or the citizens thereof and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their ene-

mies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or confession in open court.

2. Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Miscellaneous.

SECTION I.

1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECTION III.

1. New states may be admitted by Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of Congress.

2. Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory, or other property belonging to the United States; and

nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular state.

SECTION IV.

1. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

Of Amendments.

1. Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

Miscellaneous.

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution: but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Ratification.

1. The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.
Nathaniel Gorman,
Rufus King.

NEW JERSEY.
William Livingston,
David Brearly,
William Patterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.
Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Governeur Morris.

CONNECTICUT.
William Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.
Alexander Hamilton.

MARYLAND.
James M'Henry,
Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer,
Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.
John Blair,
James Madison, jun.

NORTH CAROLINA.
William Blount,
Richard Dobbs Spaight.
Hugh Williamson.

DELAWARE.

George Read,
Gunning Bedford, jun.
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jacob Broom.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

John Rutledge,
Chas. Cotesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.

William Few,
Abraham Baldwin.

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ART. 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Art. 2. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Art. 3. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Art. 4. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Art. 5. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be put twice in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Art. 6. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall

enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Art. 7. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Art. 8. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Art. 9. The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Art. 10. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people.

Art. 11. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Art. 12. § 1. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open

all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, SEPTEMBER, 1796.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

The period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the Executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect, for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and hitherto continuance in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an Address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as

well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the out-set, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of

the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.—Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of Heaven, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of liberty, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices em-

ployed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress, against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the fisrt dawning of every attempt to alien any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERTY you possess, are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest—Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency

of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated:—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East*, supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically, precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parties combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations;—and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government: which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and imbitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main

prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind; and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of Patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western;* whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other, those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country, have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi:* they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with

Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the *Union* by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable—No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems, is the right of the people to make and alter their Constitutions of Government—But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to or-

ganize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description, may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people; and to usurp to themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you speedily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to affect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, expose to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion. And remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than

a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction; to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws; and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of the parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed. But in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness; and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetuated the most horrid enormities, is itself frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual. And, sooner, or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another: foments occasionally riot and insurrection; and opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels

of party passions. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true: and, in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of this spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks, in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary wea-

pon by which free governments are destroyed.—The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports.—In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens.—The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligations *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.—In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be entightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also that timely disbursements to *prepare* for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to *repel* it; avoiding likewise the accumulations of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time

of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear.—The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be advised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct: and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.

Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury; to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage; and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity; and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject. At other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation, making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions; to practise the arts of seduction; to mislead public

opinion; to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be CONSTANTLY awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.—Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate, to see danger only on one side; and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become *suspected and odious;* while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little POLITICAL connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collision of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not

lightly hazard the giving us provocations; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by *justice*, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercouse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, (with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them,) conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with

ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations! but, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit; to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue; to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taking it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been, to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States.
17th Sept. 1796.

The following recommendations are selected from numerous valuable testimonials now in possession of the Publisher.

Baltimore, July 3d, 1843.

To Mr. N. Hickman,

I take pleasure in complying with your request, that I would express my opinion of the "History of the American Revolution" prepared by S. F. Wilson, Esq. Having carefully read the book, I do not hesitate to state that it is the best compend of that portion of history with which I am acquainted: and that it is executed with as much ability, judgment, and good taste as any similar work I have ever read.

The detail of the causes which led to the Revolution, is concise without being obscure, and the character of the early settlers is admirably drawn. The description of the various events of the contest are intelligible without being diffuse; and the style is worthy of high praise.

I deem the book to be admirably adapted for the more advanced scholars in public and private schools; and it is a work which will be read with profit and interest by all who wish to revive the historical knowledge which was the acquisition of the early period of life Very respectfully, STEPHEN COLLINS.

From the New York Star.

History of the American Revolution. With a Preliminary View of the Character and Principles of the Colonists. By S. F. Wilson. The want of a well-written compend on the great events connected with and preceding our revolution, has long been a desideratum in the literature of this country, and an opprobrium upon our name. A theme in itself so full of sublime and heroic incidents—an event so momentous in the annals of the world as that of the emancipation of an entire continent, and the establishment of that hitherto undiscovered principle that man is capable of self-government, would seem to have been of such deep and abiding interest, as to have enlisted the suffrages of more eloquent and powerful pens than have ever discoursed upon it. But notwithstanding the many rich resources for the historian there is no one who has yet explored, in the manner that so great a subject merited, this wide and extensive field—no one who has condensed into a lucid and compendious form, a clear, methodical, and correct arrangement of its details. The work of Mr. Wilson goes far to supply this hiatus, and is written in a style as felicitous in its language as it is accurate and sententious in its description of the various leading events and circumstances comprised within the period to which it relates. It is scarcely possible that the vast period of our entire history could have been compressed into so small a compass, but the author has nevertheless succeeded in happily grouping together, into a succinct and concise form, a general and most useful summary of every incident of importance that conspired to bring about the great events upon which he more particularly dwells.

We think it will prove a valuable elementary work in our schools more especially, and we warmly recommend it to our countrymen as one which every American, who has his country at heart, and wishes to cherish in his posterity an enduring love of liberty and of our noble institutions, to place in the hands of his children. Many of older growth, too, may be benefitted by its perusal, as it is a subject, we are ashamed to say, of which too many Americans, even among those who make pretensions to the character of statesmen, are most deplorably ignorant.

From the National Intelligencer.

"The American Revolution"—We have just met with a new work, comprised in 372 pages duodecimo, entitled "History of the American Revolution, with a preliminary view of the character and principles of the Colonists and their Controversies with Great Britain" by S. F. Wilson, Esq., a gentleman every way qualified for the task which he has performed. This history of the Revolution embraces all the principal occurrences, civil, military, and political, having a direct influence on the principles and progress in the great contest, avoiding all minor details not necessary to the integrity of the narrative. All the essential facts and events are brought within the compass of a volume of convenient size, well suited for the schools of the United States. We should be glad to see it introduced into general use in our seminaries, as no American youth ought to be unacquainted with the history of this most important period in the annals of this country and of the whole Christian world.

From the National Gazette, when under the editorial charge of Mr. Walsh.

A neat duodecimo volume has just appeared in Baltimore, with the title "History of the American Revolution, with a preliminary view of the character and principles of the Colonists and their Controversies with Great Britain." The author of it is S. F. Wilson, Esq., editor of the Baltimore American. The editorial articles of this gentleman are generally skilful epitomes; and hence we should augur favorably of his abstract of our Revolutionary annals. We have read parts of several chapters of the work, and from them we infer with the author that "it might be advantageously used in the instruction of youth."

From the New York Evening Post,—edited by Wm. Cullen Bryant.

"History of the American Revolution, with a preliminary view of the character and principles of the Colonists, and their Controversies with Great Britain."—This is the title of a work just published at Baltimore, and for sale in this city by D. Appleton & Co. It is written by S. F. Wilson, Esq., who, as the editor of the American, an excellent and discreetly conducted daily newspaper in Baltimore, has made himself favorably known as a writer, to a large circle of readers. In that particular exercise of talent more especially, which is most called into exercise in the work under consideration—a power to condense and epitomise in such a way as to retain, in a small compass, the pith and marrow, and the distinguishing features, of what before occupied a large space. Mr. Wilson, as we have had frequent occasion to observe in his editorial abstracts of long and elaborate public documents, is singularly happy. The work in this respect, as well as for clear perspicuous arrangement, and judicious original reflections and discussions on important points in the political history of this country, is well worthy of more than the mere passing notice to which newspaper critics are confined. We should think, from the examination we have given the volume, that it deserves to be very extensively introduced into schools; for not only in point of style is it superior to the compendiums in use, but it is written in a far more philosophical spirit, and gives due prominence to that class of events in our history, which constitute the proper foundation of all history, but which are too generally neglected for the mere details of military achievements. The writer seems to have compared authorities diligently, and in an impartial spirit, and he has stated results with as much brevity as was compatible with clearness. The work is brought down to the close of Washington's military career in 1783.

From the New York Commercial Advertiser,—edited by Col. W. L. Stone.

"History of the American Revolution, with a preliminary view of the character and principles of the Colonists, and their Controversies with Great Britain." The author of this work is S. F. Wilson, Esq., editor of the Baltimore American—formerly of this city. The design was to bring into a single volume, a compendious history of the American Revolution, for popular use; comprising all the essential facts, but by the omission of military details, and dwelling more upon civil and diplomatic history, than upon battles and the movements of armies, producing a work somewhat different, and of more intrinsic value, than any preceding work upon the same subject. Mr. Wilson we have formerly known as the holder of a ready pen of handsome literary attainments, and of a highly poetical temperament. We had misgivings, when we heard of his entrance upon the grave and chastened field of history, lest the wings of his imagination should bear him away from his judgment. But on glancing into his volume, we find that our apprehensions were groundless. We have no time for critical examination into all those matters so essential to historical accuracy; but so far as we have looked at the present work, we think it decidedly successful. The author's power of analysis and arrangement, seem to be good, and his style vigorous and clear. It is a good class book for schools.

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